

The Beaver

A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY *Hudson's Bay Company.* OUTFIT 279 MARCH 1949
INCORPORATED 21ST MAY 1870.

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CONTENTS

White-Water Thrills—R. Harrington.....	1
H B C in California—Herman Leader.....	3
By Paddle and Portage—R. Harrington.....	8
Consul Taylor—Harold C. Knox.....	16
York Boats—Richard Glover.....	19
Coronation Gulf—J. H. Webster.....	24
Norway House—W. B. Ready.....	30
Sunlight Chart—Edward Weyer.....	35
I am in Love with Dogs—J. E. Beaudet.....	36
English R. Canoe Trip—Clifford Wilson.....	38
Expeditions to the Arctic—P. D. Baird.....	44
Spring Packet.....	48
Book Review.....	49

The contents of the BEAVER are indexed in the CANADIAN INDEX.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY

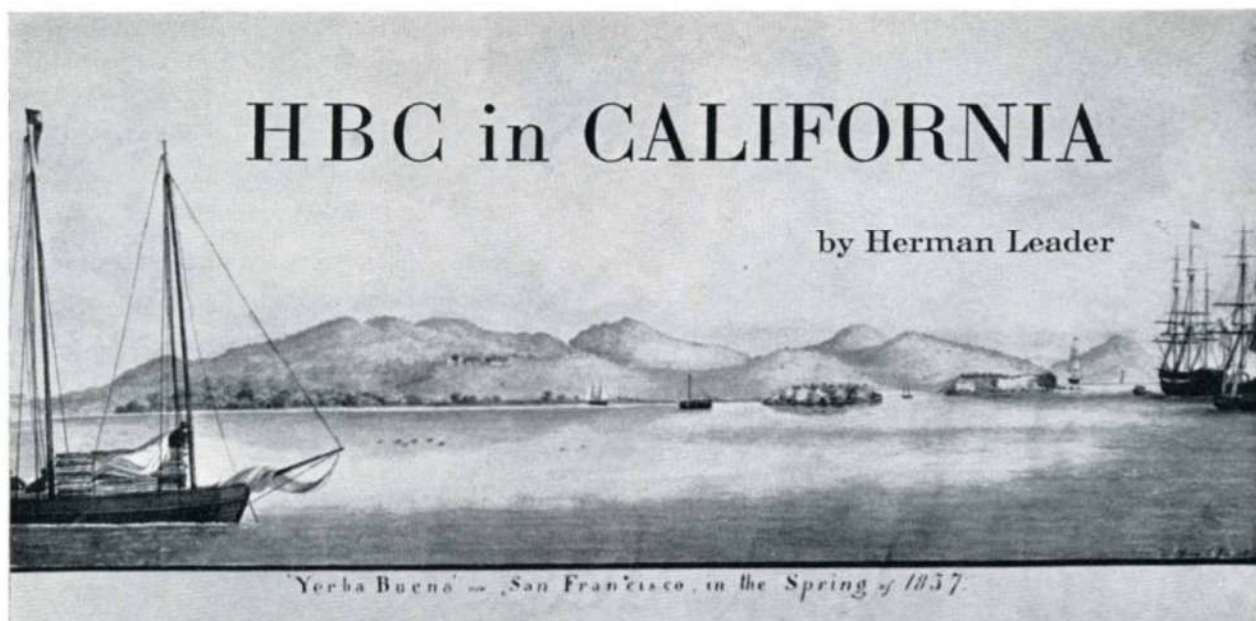
HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE

Hudson's Bay Company.
INCORPORATED 27th MAY 1670.

WINNIPEG, CANADA

THE BEAVER is published quarterly by the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, commonly known as the Hudson's Bay Company. It is edited at Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg, at the office of the Canadian Committee. Yearly subscription, one dollar; single copies, twenty-five cents. THE BEAVER is entered at the second class postal rate. Its editorial interests include the whole field of travel, exploration and trade in the Canadian North as well as the current activities and historical background of the Hudson's Bay Company, in all its departments throughout Canada. THE BEAVER assumes no liability for unsolicited manuscripts or photographs. Contributions are however solicited, and the utmost care will be taken of all material received. Correspondence on points of historic interest is encouraged. The entire content of THE BEAVER is protected by copyright, but reproduction rights will be given freely upon application. Address: THE BEAVER, Hudson's Bay House, Winnipeg.

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This water colour of San Francisco Bay was painted by a Swiss shipmaster, J. J. Vioget, in 1837. The two houses on the hill, which formed the beginnings of San Francisco, are those of Richardson and Leese. The original painting, owned by H. S. Peterson, hangs in the Wells Fargo Bank History Room.

Long before the gold miners flocked to California a century ago, the fur traders from the North were doing business there. But they pulled out too soon.

AS early as 1825 Finan McDonald and Thomas McKay led the first brigade south from the newly established Fort Vancouver, and probably across the forty-second parallel into California. In 1826-27 Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden—he of the squeaky voice—spent several weeks near Mt. Shasta, which he called “Mt. Sastie.” In 1830 Ogden crossed the interior east of the Cascades and Sierra Nevadas from the Columbia River to the mouth of the Colorado River, and on his return to headquarters at Fort Vancouver he trapped the San Joaquin River and the Sacramento River, also called the Bonaventura. Almost yearly, Michel Laframboise, McLoughlin’s “trouble-shooter,” led a brigade south, sometimes along the coast, more often by way of the Willamette Valley, across the Umpqua and Rogue Rivers, over the Siskiyou Mountains and down into the Sacramento Valley. John Work, probably, was the first to lead a brigade into California from east of the Cascades. Starting from Fort Nez Percés (Walla Walla), he traversed central Oregon to the Cascades, which he crossed through a pass near where Mt. McCloud now towers, then to the Sacramento River by a tributary, the Pit. Francis Ermatinger, too, headed a brigade into California, meeting Sir George Simpson at Monterey in 1841 on the latter’s journey around the world.

The name of the McCloud River, born from the glaciers of Mt. Shasta, is supposed to have been derived from the name of the brigade leader, Alexander Roderick McLeod, who named the Siskiyou Mountains. Laframboise gave the French name “Buttes” to the rocky hills of the Sacramento Valley. In the pioneer museum in Stockton an early map of the townsites, Cas-





In 1830 Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden travelled overland from Fort Vancouver as far as the mouth of the Colorado. On the return journey his party trapped the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers.
B. C. HISTORICAL ASSN.

toria (French Camp) has a reserve marked "Trappers' Landing" and a square in the town's center is set aside as a fur traders' rendezvous.

The last California brigade seems to have been that of 1844, by which time the beaver along the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers, their tule-fringed sloughs and tributaries, and the sea otter along the coast and its inlets had been pretty well trapped out.

The brigades for California set forth in the fall from Fort Vancouver. The brigade going by the interior route took canoes and went up the Columbia River to the place east of the Cascades where horses, trade goods, traps, and supplies were assembled for the overland trek to California.

The leave-takings over, the other California brigade—French-Canadians in deerskins and bright red knitted toques, Indian wives, half-breed children—mounted hardy cayuses already champing under all sorts of impedimenta, and took the trail for the "Spanish settlements," a trail that roughly follows the present Pacific Highway between Portland and San Francisco. No matter by which route the brigades entered California, by way of the Willamette Valley-Siskiyou Mountains, from the east through the Cascades, or occasionally, along the Oregon and California coasts, they all gravitated to the broad Sacramento Valley swarming with beaver, wapiti, deer, antelope, bear, wild cattle and wild horses, and unsettled

by white men until Sutter in 1840 established his feudal-like New Helvetia (Sacramento). As they trapped the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, the Company's brigades often ran across American trappers. In 1830, for example, a brigade under Ogden trapped the San Joaquin in company with a band of friendly Americans under Ewing Young. Sutter, on the other hand, was constantly growling at the Company's trappers and threatening to eject them as illegal intruders upon what he considered his fur preserves—the whole Sacramento Valley.

Fortunately for the Company's brigades, most of the Indians in California, particularly in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys, were lacking in courage, but because of their incessant petty thievery and attempts to stampede horses, they exasperated the trappers, sometimes to the point of firing upon them.

With the coming of the winter rains, the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers and their tributaries overflowed, and became a great, shallow lake with stretches of higher ground sticking out, like islands, above the water. Then the beaver lodges were hidden, game took to the foothills, and men and horses floundered about in mud and water. The trappers hastened to places high enough to be safe from the floods, like French Camp, or they went to Mission San José or to Mission San Francisco Solano at Sonoma or to Yerba Buena (San Francisco) to recuperate and to await the end of the rainy season. When it was over, they trapped again until hot weather set them on the homeward trek toward Fort Vancouver.

The Company's activities in California were by no means confined solely to the operations of its brigades there. The Company took the lead, perhaps, in trying to relieve the scarcity of live stock in the Willamette Valley by having cattle driven there from the Russian settlement at Fort Ross, and over a period of years the Company bought from the California government live stock raised at the missions, then under government control. Scottish shepherds were sent from Fort Vancouver to select the sheep, which were taken by boat to their Oregon destination; the cattle were driven there overland.

Around 1835 the Company, no doubt instigated thereto by Governor George Simpson, became interested in enlarging its sea-borne commerce beyond that of an occasional ship calling there to exchange goods for native products. In that year the Company wrote McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver: "California trade should be pushed if it pays at all, it would afford freight to our country vessels, and a filling-up freight in the article of tallow to the homeward ships of the season."

The Company's maritime trade with California increased, and was carried on generally *via* Honolulu, an international mart and port of call, by means of the Company's vessels—the *Columbia*, the *Cowlitz*, the *Cadboro*, the *Dryad*, the *Prince Albert*; to mention some of them. Salmon, lumber, flour, were taken to Honolulu from Fort Vancouver; sugar and manufactured goods from Honolulu to California, which, in turn, sent beaver, wapiti, deer, and sea otter to Fort Vancouver; and for a short time after the Company established a trading post at Yerba Buena, wheat to the Russians in Alaska, hides and tallow to England. Sometimes a vessel came directly from Fort Vancouver to Monterey with sea otter hunters, and goods for sale, and returned laden with California products.

Simpson and the Committee, in correspondence with McLoughlin, kept recurring to the pushing of the California trade, but not until 1839, when they met in London, did Simpson have the opportunity of personally urging upon McLoughlin the desirability of establishing a trading post there. Later, when in the judgment of the Company the venture turned out a failure, McLoughlin claimed he had opposed it from the first because he knew Simpson would not allow him the "proper latitude" in the matter.

Upon returning to Fort Vancouver, McLoughlin set about carrying out the Company's instructions to establish a trading post in California, and to that end sent there to make a preliminary survey Chief Factor James Douglas, a strong supporter of Company expansion in California.

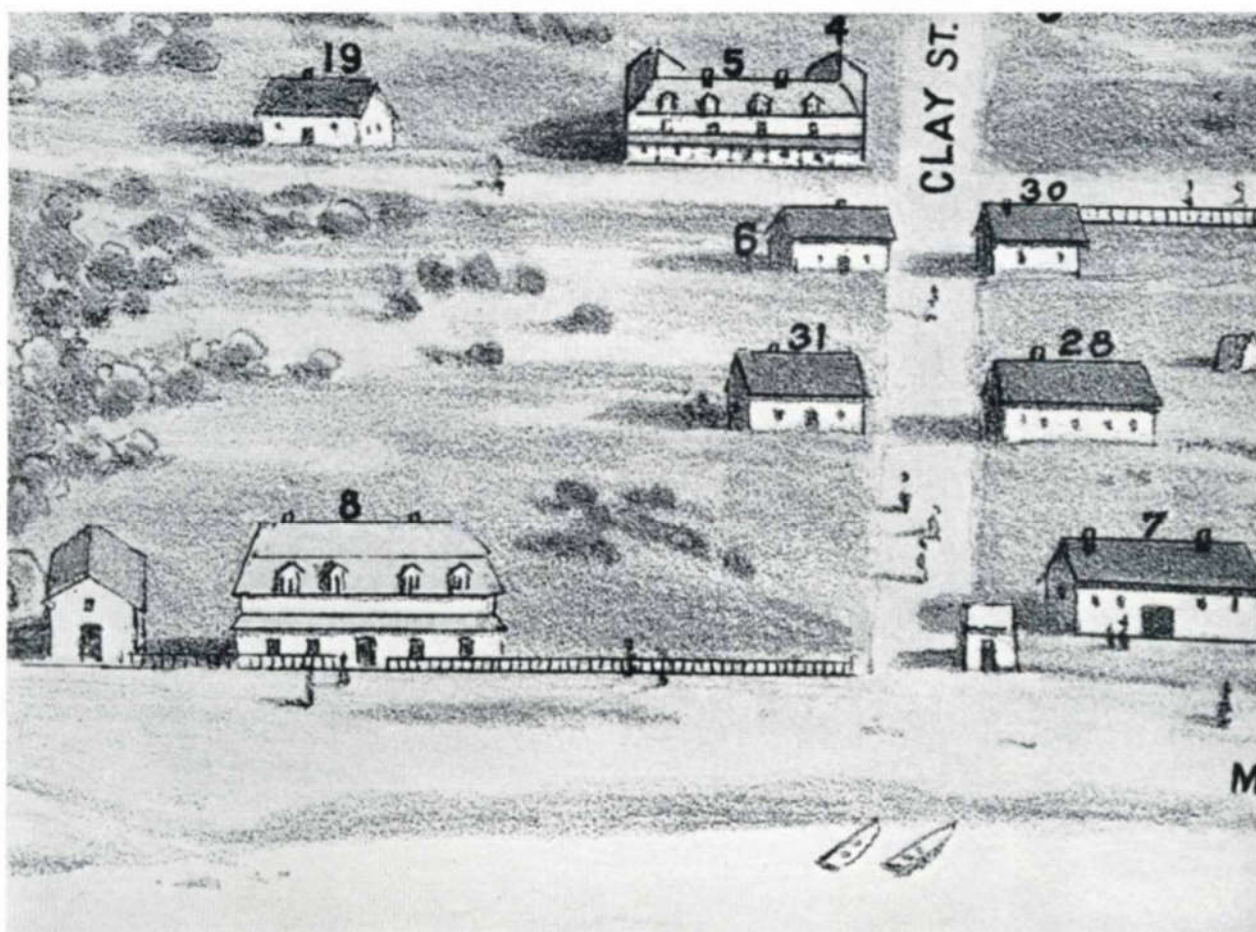
In January, 1841, Douglas spent some time in Monterey trying to arrive at some definite understanding with Governor Alvarado regarding the legality of the Company's brigades in California in view of Sutter's threats against them; also under what conditions the Company might carry on a coastwise trade and set up a post, and other matters pertaining to the Company's business in California.

When Douglas returned to Fort Vancouver, he made a written report to McLoughlin setting forth his observations while in California and his favourable conclusions with respect to the Company going into the hide, tallow and wheat trade there.

Since Mexican law forbade foreigners engaging in the coastwise trade, the Company must either consent to sail one of its barks under the Mexican flag and in command of a naturalized officer, or must land its goods at Monterey, the only port of entry, and trans-ship at heavy expense to Yerba Buena or other places where the Company intended to carry on trade. Douglas recommended that one of the Company's vessels be put under Mexican registry. He persuaded Alvarado, the civil governor at Monterey, to grant the Company exemption from taxation on the furs its brigades took, provided its trappers became Mexican citizens; but to appease General Vallejo, military commander at Sonoma, (the two were often at odds), Vallejo might tax the furs taken within his "jurisdiction" until the trappers were naturalized. All this angered Sutter, who refused to recognize any agreement permitting trapping of his "domains."

In his report to McLoughlin, Douglas admits the Company will be at a disadvantage with the long-established hide-and-tallow traders who know perfectly the language and customs of California; but these are few, and business is mainly in the hands of "free lancers" who have to pay high for inferior goods, whereas the Company can buy better goods at lower prices. Also, the Company's competitors have the expense of maintaining their vessels even in the slack hide-and-tallow season, when no slaughtering is going on, while the Company at such times can use its bar-

Part of Yerba Buena in 1847. No. 8, on Montgomery street (then on the water front), was built by Jacob Leese, who sold it in 1841 to the H B C for a store and residence for Rae. No. 19 was Capt. Vioget's house. The yerba buena ("good herb") shrub grows in the vacant spaces.





The only likeness of William Glen Rae known to exist. It is under glass on a bracelet, presumably worn by his wife, Eloise McLoughlin, and is now in the McLoughlin Memorial House, Oregon City. Rae was a brother of Dr. John Rae, the famous Arctic traveller.

ques elsewhere, particularly in the northwest trade. Furthermore, the Company will have the advantage of being the only buyer of wheat, its competitors restricting themselves to hides and tallow.

McLoughlin, who highly valued Douglas's business judgment, now took his advice about enlarging the California trade, and to that end sent to California his own son-in-law, William Glen Rae. This just a few months before Simpson arrived at Fort Vancouver on his journey round the world.

Later, when they engaged in a heated controversy over the California venture, Simpson accused McLoughlin of acting "precipately and inadvisably" in establishing the post at Yerba Buena because McLoughlin should have awaited his arrival and secured his approval before taking such a step. McLoughlin replied to the effect that all along he had kept Simpson informed of what he was doing or going to do about the California venture; also, Rae had to get to California during the current slaughtering season to get his share of hides and tallow. (Rae got there too late to do this.) In August, 1841, Rae arrived at Monterey in the *Cowlitz* via Honolulu with a large consignment of trade goods, and, perhaps then, as a little later when Simpson came to Monterey in the same *Cowlitz*, the customs officers "descended upon the ship like vultures their prey," to use Simpson's expression. The windfall in the shape of a large amount of duties on the cargo of the *Cowlitz* perhaps procured from the authorities immediate permission for Rae to land his goods and have his warehouse where he pleased.

Rae sailed to Yerba Buena and bought a lot and a frame and adobe building from Jacob Leese, a brother-in-law of General Vallejo—the politic thing to do, perhaps. As long as the Company remained in California this building—in the block now bounded by Montgomery, Sacramento, Clay and Kearny Streets—served as combined store and living quarters for Rae and his family.

In December, 1841, the *Cowlitz* with supplies for Rae's store, and with Simpson, McLoughlin and Mrs.

Rae (Eloise McLoughlin) on board, put in at Yerba Buena from Fort Vancouver. In that part of his *Narrative* devoted to California, Simpson doesn't even mention the post at Yerba Buena. But Simpson's attitude toward McLoughlin's California venture came out during March 1842, in bitter correspondence between himself and McLoughlin in Honolulu, to which place McLoughlin had accompanied Simpson from Monterey on the latter's journey round the world.

Besides the charges and counter-charges already referred to, Simpson accused Rae of departing from the Company's long-established policy of cash or barter and no credit. He claimed Rae had granted credit, and too freely, to the *rancheros* for hides and tallow and to grain-growers for wheat. McLoughlin replied that traders in California always had advanced credit, generally in merchandise, and the Company must do the same. McLoughlin pointed out, however, that the Company had the best chance of getting repaid because it was the only buyer of grain.

Neither Simpson nor McLoughlin seemed very clear about the kind of establishment to be set up in California; and necessarily so, for up to this time the Company's trade had been confined to furs and barter between ship and shore—the latter forbidden by law after 1840. A post on land marked a new step in trade methods in California.

Simpson claimed the Company wanted a pastoral and agricultural settlement with a large amount of land for a small price and a few servants and a store. Something similar, perhaps, to the Puget Sound Agricultural Company. McLoughlin, on the other hand, seems to have had in mind a trading post where hides, tallow and wheat, instead of furs, would be exchanged for goods.

An abrupt change toward the Company's affairs in California seems to have come over Simpson during the short time between his visit there and his arrival in Honolulu. In 1844 McLoughlin wrote the Company: "All I can say is that when Simpson and I passed there [Yerba Buena] it was decided that the business should be conducted on a respectable scale.

But at the Sandwich Islands he decided not to follow up the matter."

Simpson's attitude may have been changed by the pessimistic report on the decline of the California fur trade given him at Monterey by Francis Ermatinger, the brigade leader; also, Simpson may have been convinced it was impracticable to do business along established lines in a country given over to political instability and to slippery, often grafting officials. His bitter controversy with McLoughlin over the conduct of trade on the northwest coast may have been the deciding factor in causing Simpson to order McLoughlin, later followed by instructions from the Committee, to wind up the Yerba Buena venture in 1842; the brigades might continue if they showed more profit.

McLoughlin delayed executing the Company's orders partly in the hope the Yerba Buena venture in time would show a profit (which he claimed it did in a dispute with Simpson over the matter), and thus bring about a rescinding of the Company's orders; and partly because of lack of ships to send to Yerba Buena.

McLoughlin always claimed Simpson had closed out the Yerba Buena post before it had been given a fair trial; also, such was the need for ships elsewhere that he couldn't send nearly enough of them to Yerba Buena to take out the produce stored there, and the figures with regard to shipping bear out McLoughlin's contention. Because of shipping difficulties in the

northwest the Yerba Buena ship of 1842 came too late for the slaughtering season, only one ship came in 1843 and none in 1844.

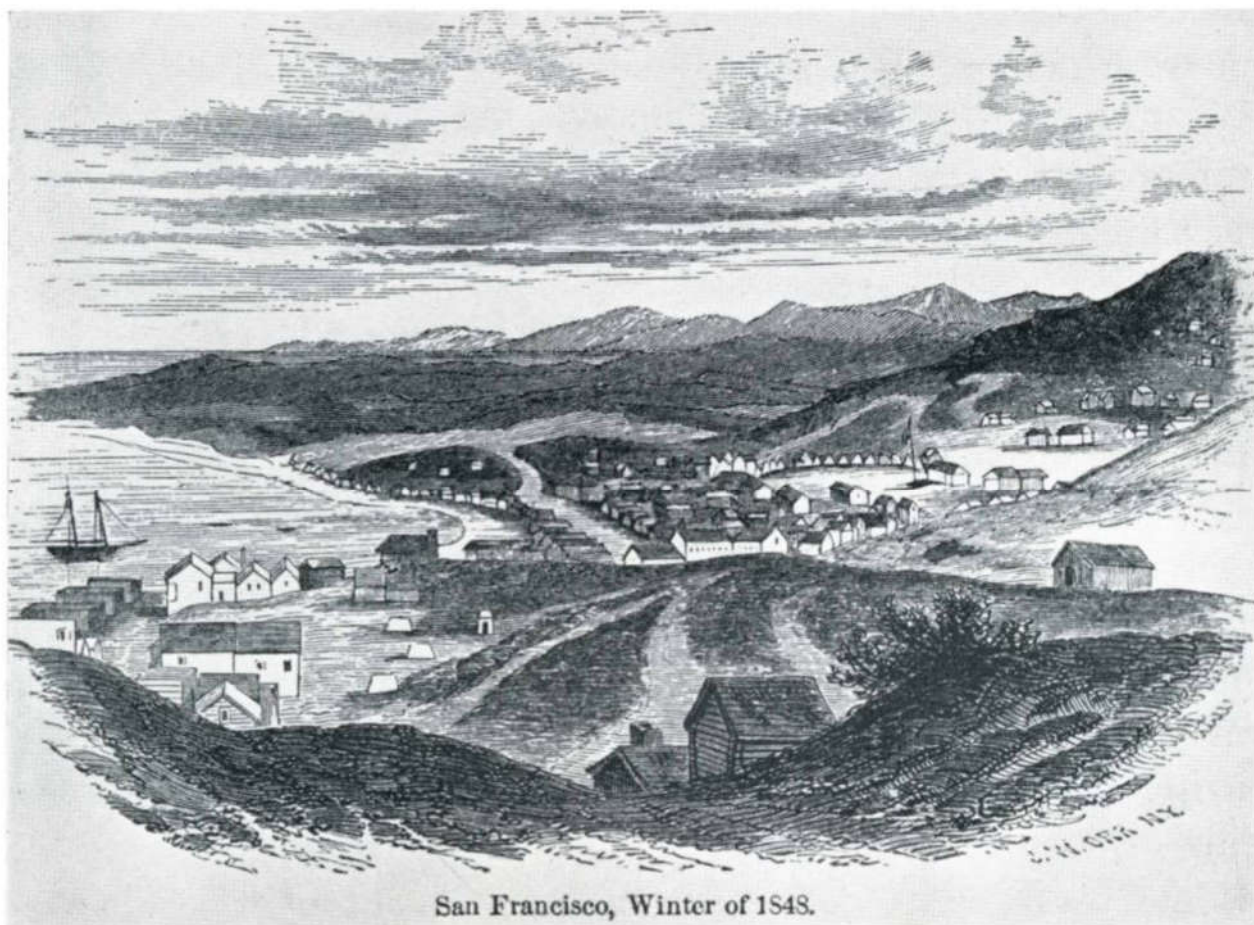
Not until the spring of 1845 did McLoughlin send a ship to Yerba Buena with orders to sell the Company's property there, collect outstanding debts and bring Rae and his family back to Fort Vancouver. When this ship returned from California it brought the sad news of the death of Rae by suicide in January of that year.

After Rae's death, the British vice-consul, occasional agent of the Company in California, managed the Company's property until in 1849 Dugald Mac-tavish came from Fort Vancouver to wind up the Company's affairs. He had to sell the property at a small loss, and collected little or nothing, probably, of the \$10,000 of outstanding debts—an amount that seems to justify Simpson in criticizing Rae for being unduly generous in extending credit.

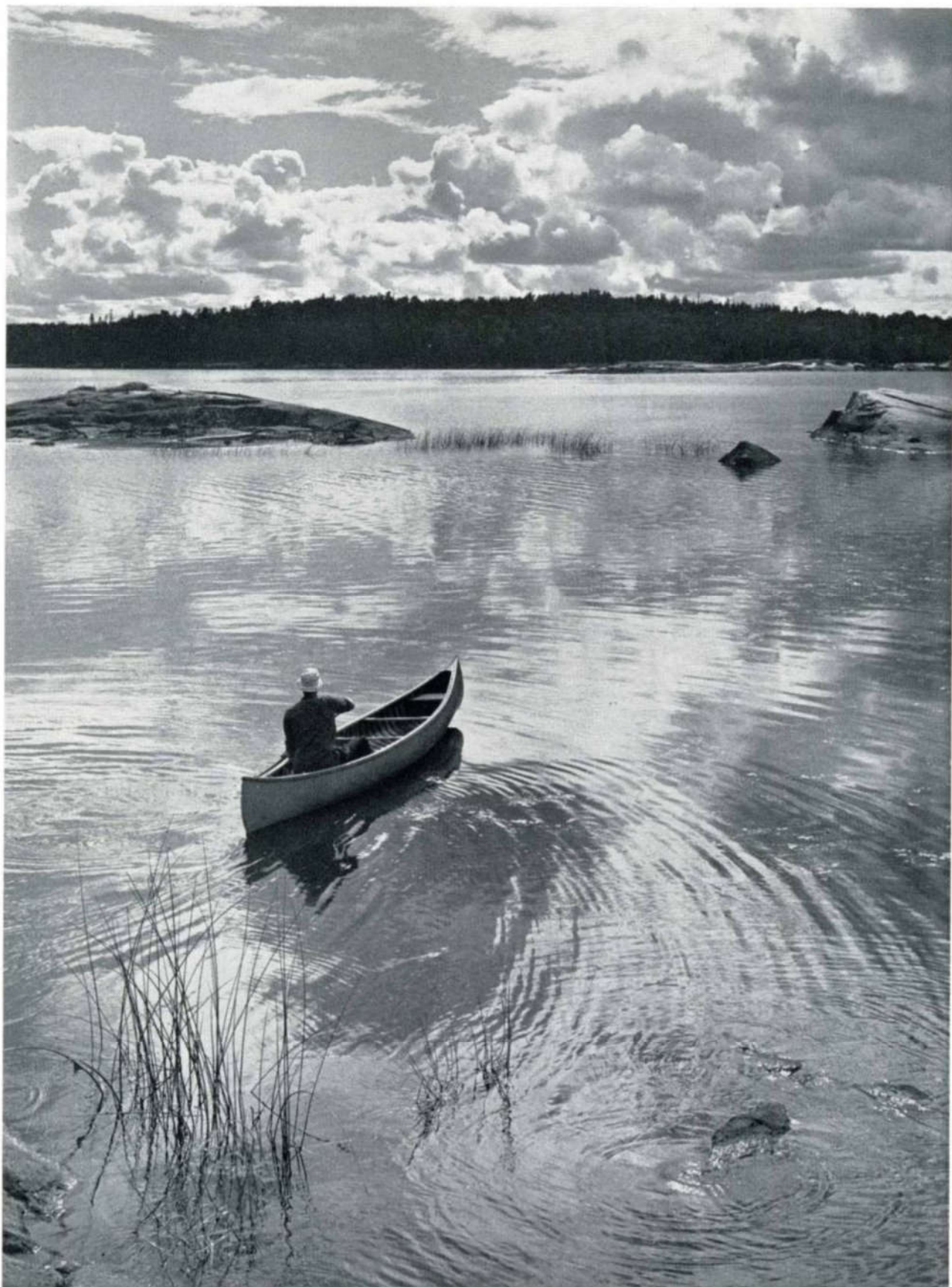
One of the main charges Simpson aimed at McLoughlin was that of having paid an excessive price for a lot and building in such a miserable location as Yerba Buena. In a letter to McLoughlin, Simpson wrote: "... the purchase of some 100 or 150 yards of frontage by as many in depth at the wretched place of Yerba Buena, which, of all others is the least adapted to in point of situation and climate for an establishment."

It would be interesting to know what Sir George Simpson thought about that comment in later years.

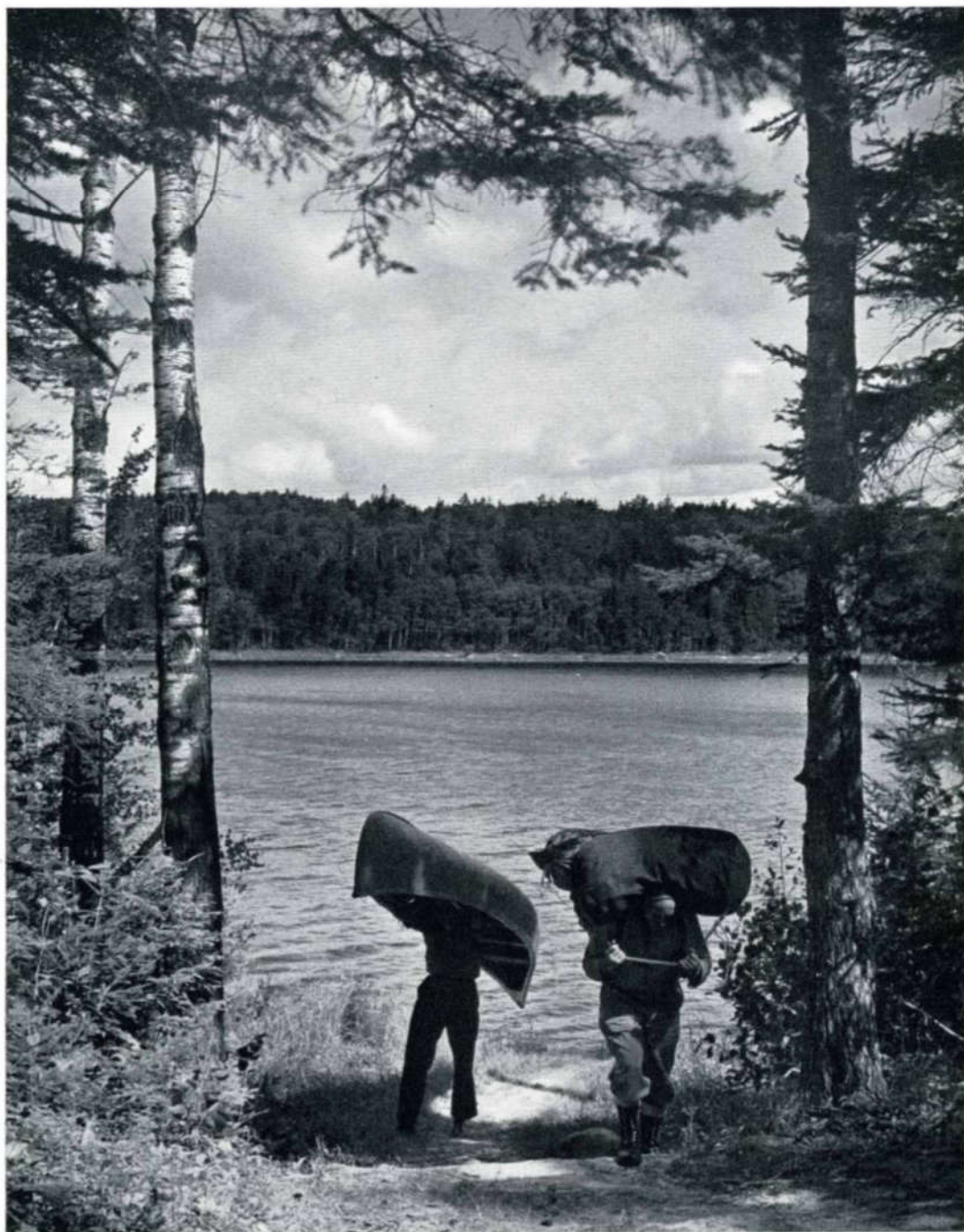
San Francisco as it appeared just before the gold rush. The wide road is Montgomery Street. Yerba Buena Cove, where the ship is anchored, was later filled in and built upon. From Soule's "Annals of San Francisco." WELLS FARGO BANK HISTORY ROOM



San Francisco, Winter of 1848.



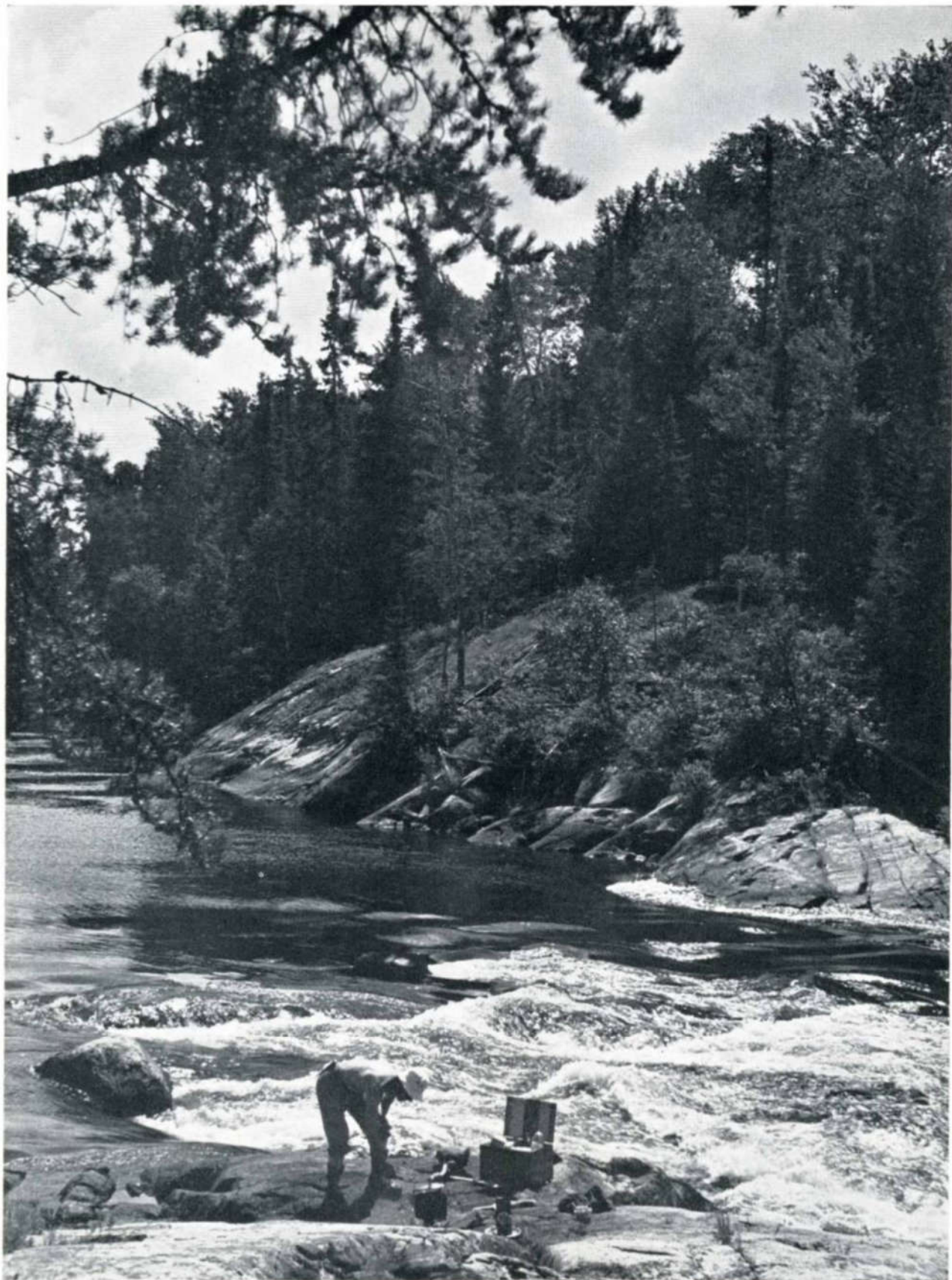
By Paddle . . .



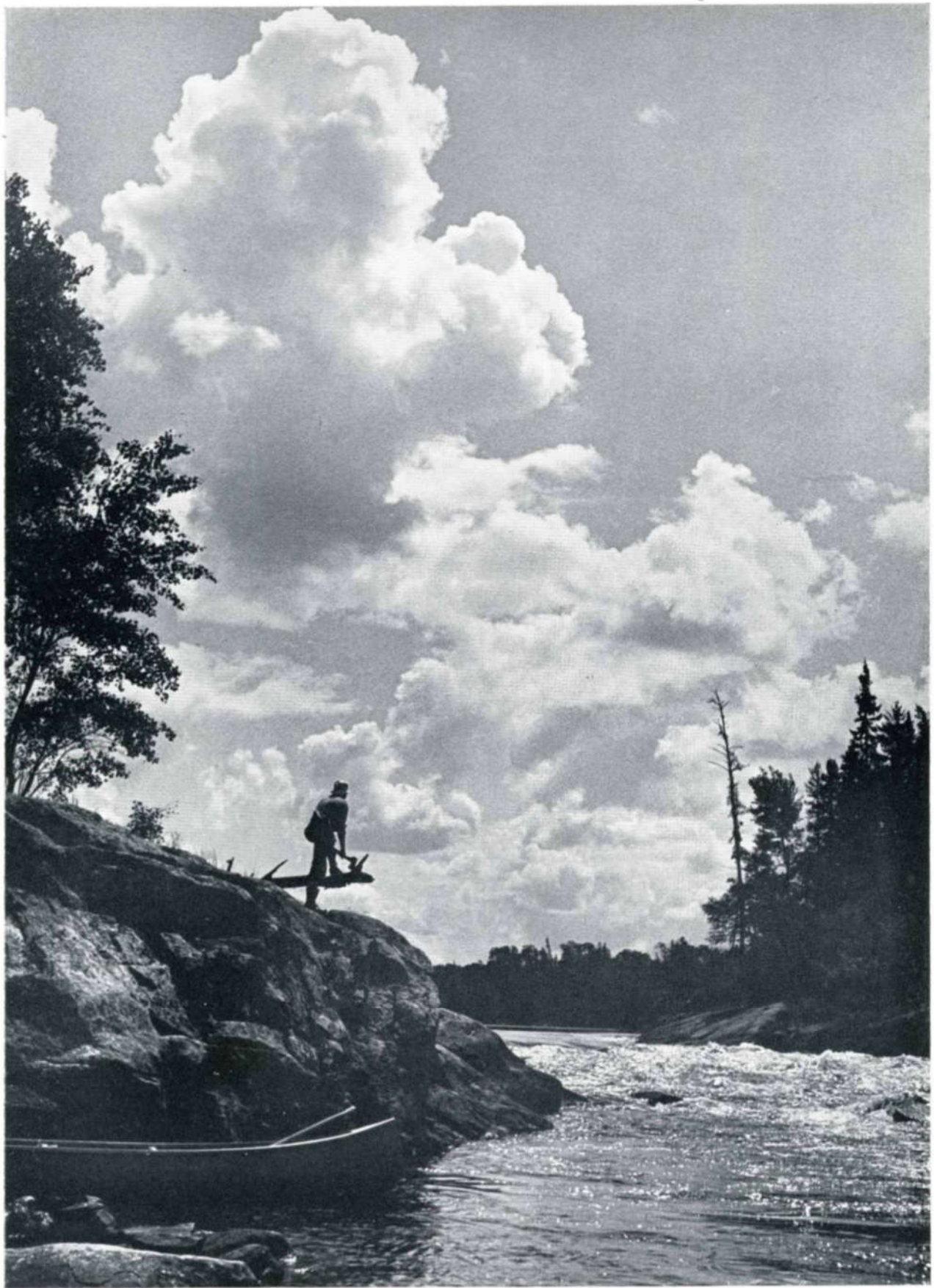
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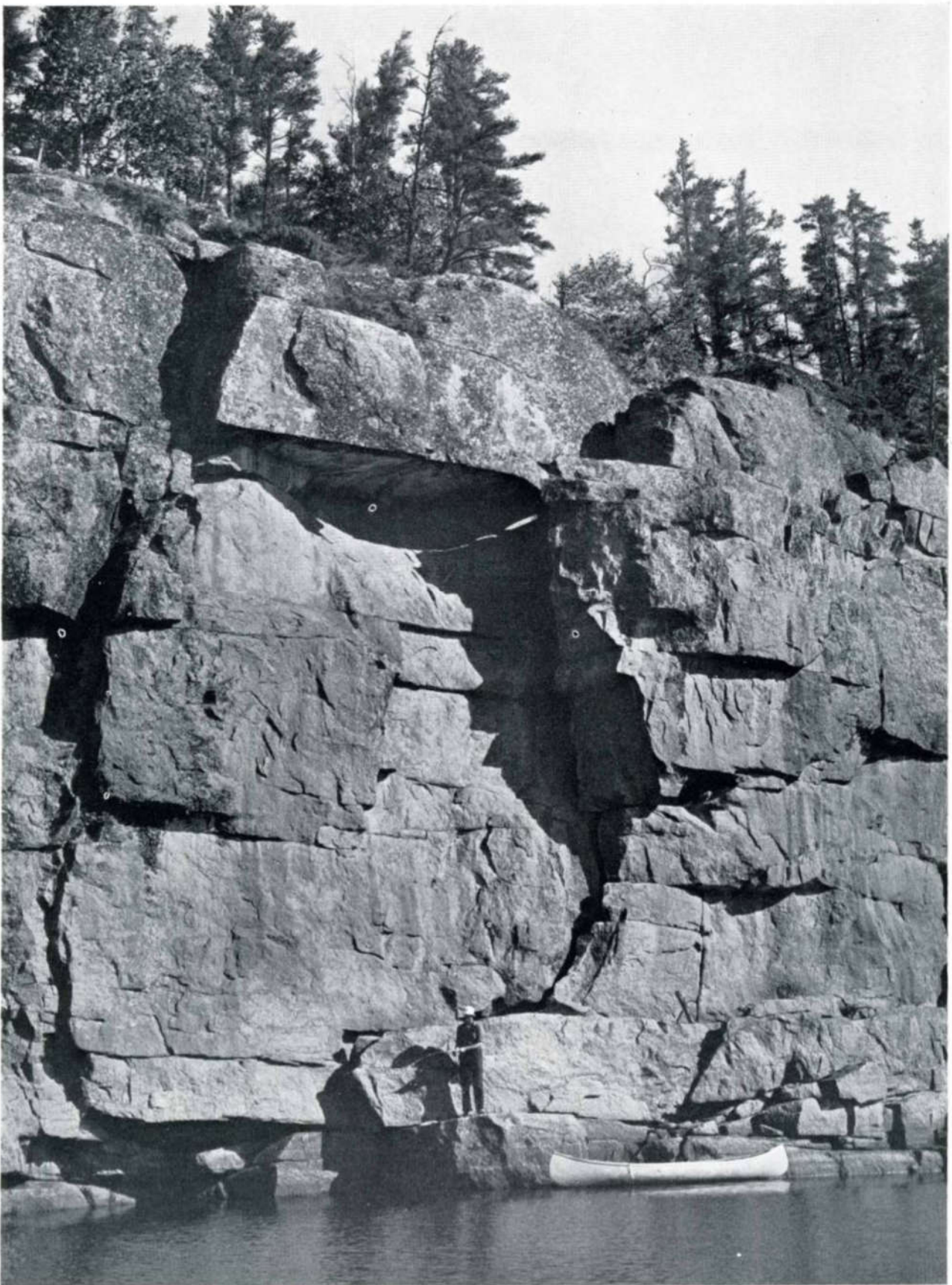
Scenes from the
English River Country
photographed by
Richard Harrington



Lunch Beside the Rapids

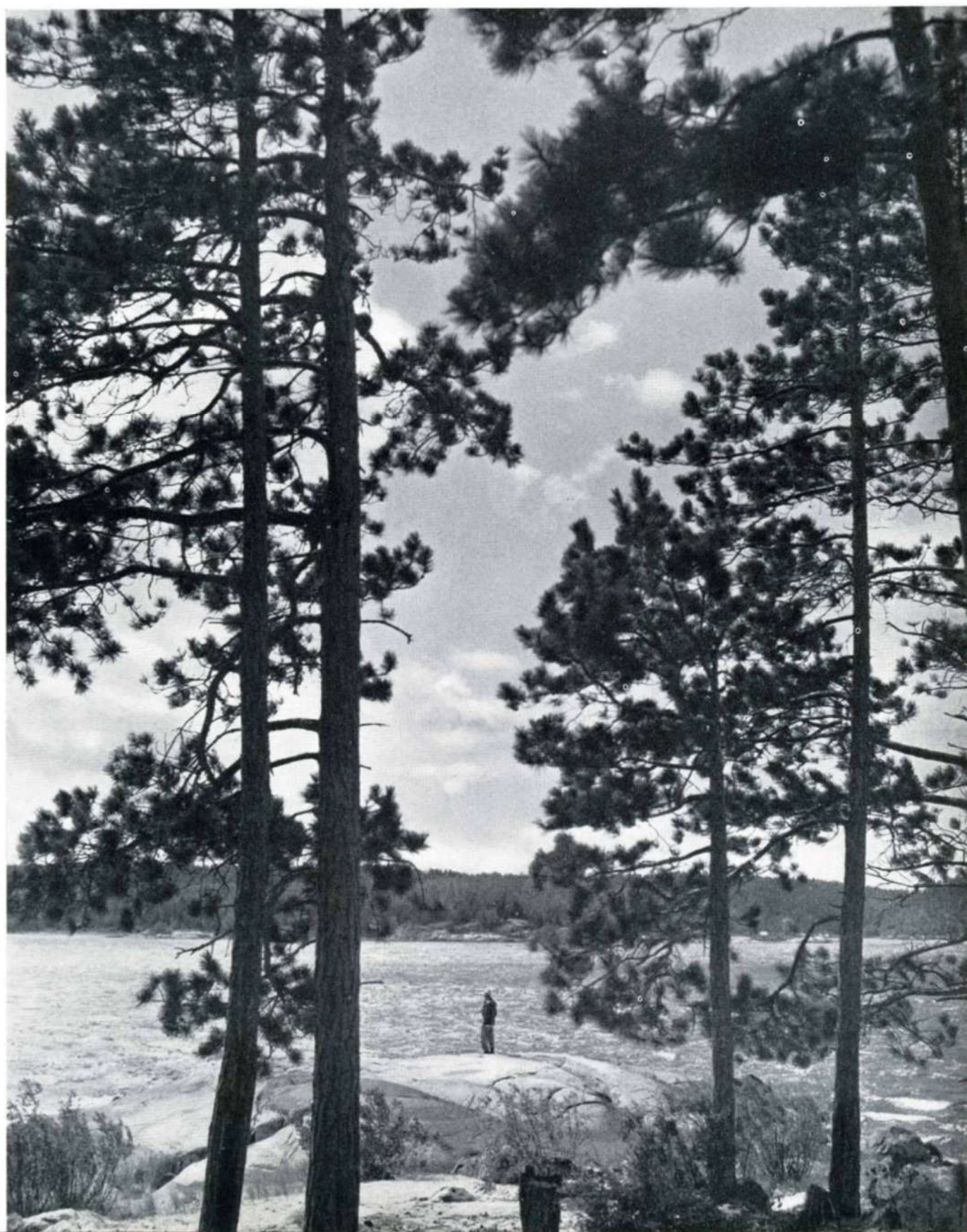


White Water on the Wabigoon

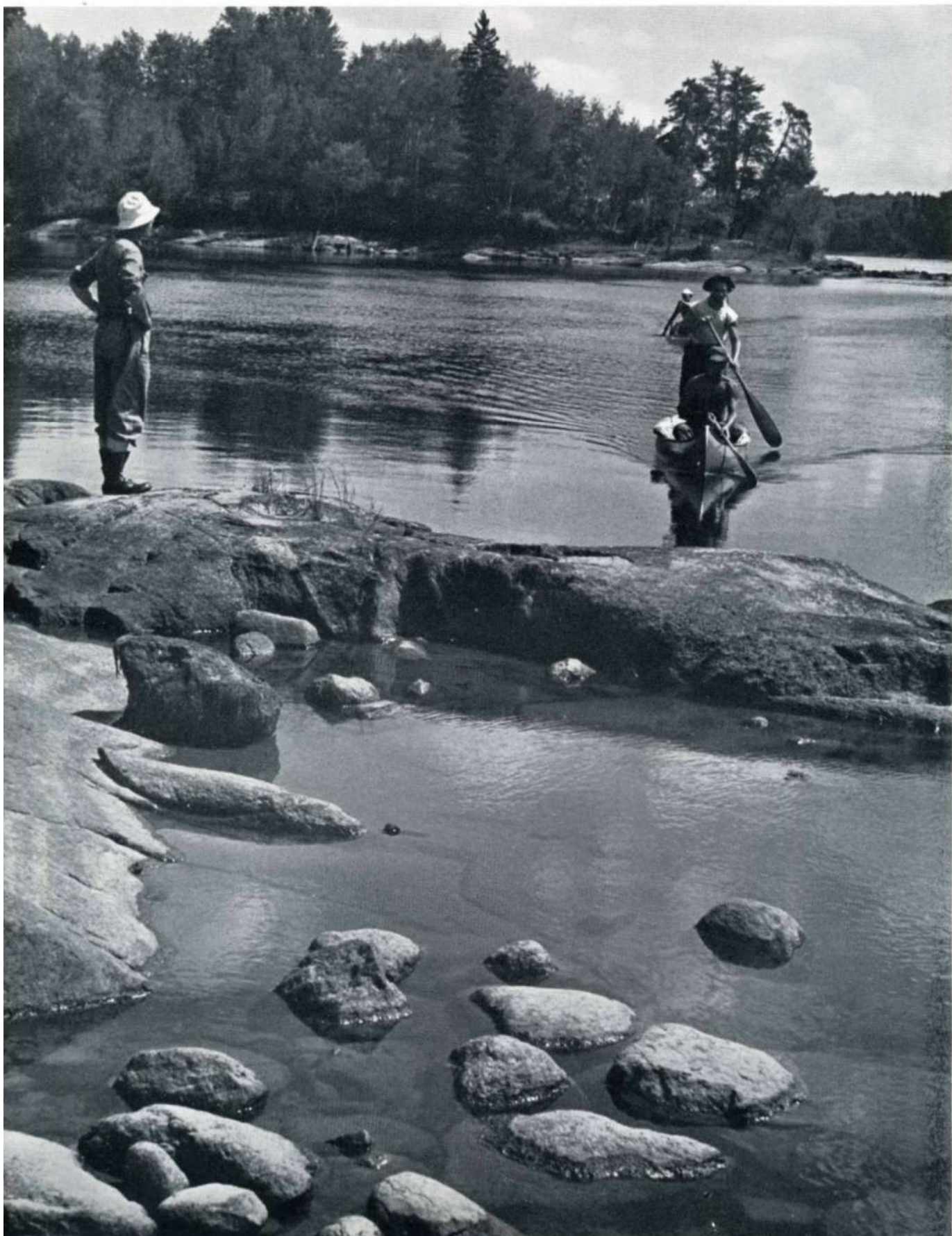


Deep Water Fishing

Norway Pines



Wilderness Meeting





Trail to Adventure



CONSUL TAYLOR of Red River

By Harold C. Knox

The first of two articles dealing with the activities of James Wickes Taylor, U.S. Consul in Winnipeg from 1870 to 1893. This part is concerned mainly with the Riel Insurrection.

The portrait of Taylor referred to below. On the table are prairie "crocuses."

SEVEN full length portraits hang on the walls of the council chamber in Winnipeg's city hall. Five of these are of kings and queens—Victoria, Edward, Alexandra, George V and Mary. One of the other two depicts a man who was never a citizen of Canada or the British Empire, and who indeed was active for many years in trying to divorce western Canada from the Crown. It is that of James Wickes Taylor, sometime secret agent for the U.S. State Department in the Red River Settlement, and consul for the United States in Winnipeg from 1870 to 1893.

Consul Taylor's career began long before he came to Winnipeg. Born in New York State in 1819, he was educated as a lawyer, but turned to journalism, establishing the Cincinnati *Morning Signal* in 1846. In 1852 he was state librarian of Ohio and there began his studies on the West. Later he moved to St. Paul. His first visit to the Red River was in 1859, when he came up to get a report for the governor of Minnesota on the Red River and the routes to the western gold fields. This resulted in his being appointed as a special agent of the United States government to report on whatever was taking place in the Hudson's Bay territories.

At that time the West did not belong to Canada; James Taylor dreamed of it belonging to the United States and he worked towards that end. In 1869 he was appointed as a secret service agent at Fort Garry to report on the Red River insurrection. This appointment, dated December 30, 1869, reads in part:

"You are appointed a Special Agent of the State Department for the period of six months to investigate and report to the Department upon the following subjects:

"1. Full details of the revolt by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement against the Canadian Confederation and the expulsion of Honorable William McDougall on his way to assume the office of Governor.

"3. The character and disposition of the population.

"4. Existing routes of communication from Canada and the United States, and what changes or improvements in this respect are proposed.

"7. The political relations between the Dominion of Canada and the several states and provinces composing it. . . .

"All your proceedings under this commission are to be strictly confidential and under no circumstances will you allow them to be made public. This injunction includes the fact of your appointment. . . .

"HAMILTON FISH."

A few years ago several trunks of papers were discovered in an attic in St. Paul, and this document was among them. When one realizes that there are in this collection about seventeen hundred letters and documents received by Consul Taylor from 1859 to 1893, as well as copies of about the same number written by himself, it is obvious that no complete history of the West can be written without reference to it. At present this collection is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society at St. Paul.

As a special investigator, Consul Taylor's remarks on the situation in the Red River settlement are of

considerable interest to historians. His comments on personalities give us a deeper insight into the men of his period. In one letter he defends Governor William Mactavish, who had been criticized for his inaction during the 1869-70 troubles. In the same letter he refers to John Schultz, the main opponent of Riel.

This report to Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, is dated January 25, 1870, and reads in part:

"Hon. William McTavish, Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Garry and Governor of Selkirk Settlement under the official designation of the colony of Assiniboia, has occupied the latter position for twelve years under very difficult circumstances. It devolved upon him to conduct the business of the corporation at that central point of distribution to fifty interior stations, scattered over a region as large as European Russia and also to administer the local government of Selkirk assisted by a council appointed by the Company from the inhabitants. He has found great embarrassment in combining these trusts. He is a man of great integrity and discretion but has not escaped censure, to which he is very sensitive.

"I have known Governor McTavish since 1859 and have observed that his aversion to Canada has been constantly increasing. The constant agitation in the Canadian Parliament and by the press of the Western Province against the charter, organization and policy of the Hudson's Bay Company has annoyed him; but he has often said to me that its worst result has been to make turbulent citizens of all Canadians who have emigrated to Red River. One of them es-

First page of the letter signed by Hamilton Fish, appointing Taylor a U.S. agent at Red River. He was paid \$5 a day, plus 10c a mile travelling expenses.
MINN. HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Confidential

*Department of State
Washington Dec 30th 1869.*

James W. Taylor, Esq.

Sir:

Having been led to believe that you are in possession of valuable information in regard to Antislavery British America and especially the relations of the Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia Districts to the United States, you are appointed a Special Agent of the State Department for the period of six months to investigate and report to the Department upon the following subjects.

1. Full details of the revolt by the inhabitants of Selkirk settlement against the Canadian Confederation and the suppression of it.

pecially, a Dr. John Schultz has openly defied his authority on several occasions and being a person of unusual talent and force of character, although represented to be entirely unscrupulous, he has made himself the centre of a Canadian party—small in numbers but active and violent. The only newspaper the *Nor-West* has been owned by Canadians, and has waged open and acrimonious war, not only against the Company but against McTavish personally. I have no doubt that all the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest have been embittered against political connexion with Canada, by the same causes. As an independent English colony, much more as a Territory of the United States, these men by their culture, experience, and habits of ascendancy over their dependents and the Indians would be the natural leaders in all public affairs. They might be such under the Confederation, but Mr. McDougall's programme was evidently inspired by jealousy and hostility of the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. They were well aware of this and have submitted to the insurrection against the Canadian authority rather than make any strenuous effort to resist it."

In a later letter Consul Taylor states: "If the life of Governor McTavish had been spared, I doubt not that his influence would have been all powerful in reconciling all interests and establishing stable government in the Winnipeg District. But unfortunately he died at Liverpool on the way to Scotland. He was a man of culture, integrity and prudence."

In his letters the consul makes several references to Louis Riel, the leader of the Métis, and among the Taylor papers there is a report on Riel written by N. P. Langford, Taylor's brother-in-law, in July 1870.

"Riel is about twenty-eight years of age¹, has a fine physique, of active temperament, a great worker, and I think is able to endure a great deal. He is a large man with a high forehead (not broad) of very winning persuasive manners—and in his whole bearing, energy and ready decision are prominent characteristics—and in this fact, lies his great power—for I should not give him credit for great profundity yet he is sagacious and I think thoroughly incorruptible. In his intercourse with us he was very diplomatic and non-committal yet there was nothing offensive in this but rather, it appeared to me to be a merit in him.

"Riel's adherents, though a minority of the population, are by far the most enterprising and progressive—while the Canadians and Scotch are sluggish and contented to live as did their ancestors of fifty years ago—and to such people the untiring energy of Riel is a wonder—a something of which they stand in awe, and to which they are powerless to oppose any force or obstacle."

The government of Riel has often been described as an usurpation—a rebel government. The opinion of the consul as a lawyer—although a lawyer trained in another system—was definite. "In view of all the circumstances, Mr. President [Ulysses S. Grant], I can not resist the conviction that from November, perhaps from March 1869 to July 15, 1870, the only legitimate authority at Red River was the Provisional Government, of which Louis Riel finally became President.

"First as against the Hudson's Bay Company. As early as July 31, 1868, the Parliament of England passed an act for the extinguishment on surrender to the Queen 'of all rights of government and proprietary rights' of the Hudson's Bay Company. During the year following, the terms of such surrender and for the

1. He was nearer 26.—Ed.

transfer of the territory called Rupert's Land to Canada were the subject of negotiation; these were at length adjusted and in March 1869, the shareholders at an annual meeting assented to the surrender, and the people had no other information than that the formal surrender was promptly executed and accepted by the Queen². Hence the significance of Governor McTavish's expression, 'my government was wiped out.' In fact the formal deed of surrender was on the 19th day of November 1869. After that date, the people of the Red River community were correct in claiming as they did in their declaration of December 8, 1869 that they were abandoned by the government which they had always respected.

"Secondly. What was the position of the Dominion of Canada? Clearly, that until the Ottawa Government paid 300,000 pounds to the Home Government in trust for the Hudson's Bay Company, the surrender by the Company to the Crown could not transfer the shadow of right to Rupert's Land. Until an order in Council based upon such payment, the United States had as much jurisdiction at Fort Garry as the Dominion. The payment was withheld by Canada. By that act the Red River Country was virtually surrendered for nearly a year to the Riel Government.

"Thirdly as to the Home Government. To the honor of the Earl of Granville, the appeal of the people of Red River, standing resolutely upon their successful struggle, as a province of England and demanding the protection of the British Constitution was fully recognized. The traditions of the Colonial Office were all on the side of a civilized colony asking for representative institutions."

One of the vital acts of this Riel government was the execution of Scott. Nothing raised the East against him as much as that act. In the same report as the above, there occurs the following:

"There is much evidence that Riel firmly believed the execution necessary not only to prevent bloodshed within the walls of the prison itself but to check further attempts at insurrection with the possible contingency of an Indian war. 'I take a life to save lives,' was his reply to an appeal for mercy. But he overrated the public danger and underrated his own power. With the suppression of the Boulton insurrection the Settlement was at his feet and it is lamentable that he could not have closed his extraordinary career as the founder of free and representative institutions in Manitoba without the sacrifice of life. But where is the community, let me ask, which could have passed through such a crisis with so little excess."

The papers hold other evidence to the effect that Colonel Dennis had made an effort to raise the Indian population against the Riel government. This fact is corroborated by a letter in the St. Boniface archives from John A. Macdonald to Bishop Taché, re Monckman, to whom Dennis and McDougall gave instructions to communicate with the Saulteaux. "He [Monckman] should be asked to surrender his letter and informed that he ought not proceed upon it." The letter goes on with promises that Monckman would be paid for the expenses he had incurred so far.

There is no doubt that at this time Riel was being urged to consider annexation with the United States. In the Taylor papers there is a report on Riel's attitude regarding annexation written by Langford on July 12, 1870:

"Major Robinson said that the *New Nation* was not allowed to publish anything favouring annexation,

that Riel had suppressed many articles he had prepared on that question. They said there were not over fifty men (except a few Americans) in the settlement that favoured the annexation movement. Riel further said that he only desired to save his people from wrong and to this end would do whatever was necessary. I could not but infer from this, that if Canada did not accept his terms, he would be in favour of annexation, though from motives of policy, he would not make his ideas known. He evidently knows that very few people in Manitoba would favour annexation while the influence of Bishop Taché and Rev. Mr. Black is against it. I think that the opposition of the Americans at Fort Garry grows out of an impression that he would under no circumstances favour annexation. But I cannot but think that Riel is secretly in favour of it, and will show his hand when the proper time comes."

This attitude of Langford's could be a bit of wishful thinking. It is true that the first issues of the *New Nation* are full of references to annexation, but they soon disappear.

On the arrival of the Wolseley expedition, the attitude of the Canadian Government towards Riel became very practical. What happened to the promises of amnesty? Riel and his followers were harried from pillar to post, tried before courts and outlawed—a course that probably led to their participation in the troubles of 1885. Consul Taylor, in his report to President Grant in February 1870, has definite opinions on the Government's actions:

"I have on a former occasion adverted to my personal interest in the community north of Minnesota which was founded by Lord Selkirk forty years before the territorial organization of Minnesota. I have enjoyed the hospitality of the inhabitants. Their virtues and intelligence have always commanded my respect and I do not conceal my admiration for the spirit of liberty which they have recently manifested. To that spirit Canada has yielded much and should pardon more. I believe that good faith requires complete oblivion for the acts of all connected with the Provisional Government of 1869-1870."

Then in 1885, Consul Taylor's testimony is unequivocal: "I held a commission as Special Agent of the State Department to report upon all the circumstances connected with the Red River Insurrection of 1869-70. I was at Ottawa during the discussion which preceded the organisation of the Province of Manitoba. There was present a delegation from the Red River appointed by a Convention of the people, called with the concurrence of all parties—especially the English and Canadian governments—and both to them and to Archbishop Taché, a pledge of unqualified amnesty, distinctly including Louis Riel was given and communicated to the Provisional Government at Fort Garry."

It may be that Sir John A. MacDonald did give such a promise, but afterwards found it expedient for political reasons to deny it.³

2. The facts of the matter were as follows: On Nov. 19, 1869, the Committee of the H.B.C. resolved that the seal of the Company be attached to the Deed of Surrender, and on Nov. 23 a counterpart of the transfer was forwarded to the Colonial Office. A few days later, however, word of the Riel Insurrection reached London, and all negotiations for the surrender were suspended. No further progress was made until May 1870, when the Company sent to the Colonial Office the actual deed. On May 11 the bankers paid over to the Company the £300,000 which had been deposited with them by Canada in the previous November. Finally on June 23 the Queen signed the order-in-council transferring Rupert's Land and the N.W.T. to Canada as from July 15, 1870.—Ed.

3. For a scholarly discussion of the Red River Amnesty Question, which agitated Canadian politics for so long, see Jonas A. Jonasson in *Pacific Historical Review*, 1937, p. 58.

YORK BOATS

by R. Glover



The oldest known picture of a York boat. Part of Lt. Hood's water colour showing the men of the first Franklin expedition carrying their boat across the portage around the Trout Fall, near Knee Lake, on Sept. 27, 1819. From the original in the W. H. Coverdale collection. C. S. L.

The most complete article yet published on these celebrated craft of the northern waterways.

FROM the 18th into the 20th century, York boats were busy on the waterways of the North, carrying H B C furs from remote trading posts to tidewater or railhead and taking trade goods back. In their heyday, before the coming of river steamers, they made up what H. Y. Hind calls "a vast system of internal communication" employing "upwards of 200 boats . . . manned by more than 1200 voyageurs." They are now as much a memory of the vanished past as the north canoe; but they served the Company too well to be forgotten.

Between the York boats of the H B C and the fishing boats of the Orkney Isles there is a close family likeness, which cannot be accidental. Three quarters or more of the Company's servants in the 18th century were Orkneymen, and when they required boats in Rupert's Land they merely adapted their old craft to new conditions. Rivers demanded shallow craft, so the Orkney man in the service built his river boats with "flat floors" which made them very leewardly; but he retained the high bow and stern posts of his island fishing boats, and their two sharp ends. Most convenient, those two long, obliquely-sloping ends were for the unimproved rivers of a primeval land, where frequent sand bars made it easy to run aground and necessary to back water.

Such was the build of the York boat, which remained unchanged from the first years of the 19th century (and almost certainly earlier) down to our own day. Its familiar name was by comparison but recently acquired. No visitor to the West seems to have met the name till Warburton Pike went down the Athabaska in 1889 and reported that "the Inland Boats, as they are termed" of the H B C were "classified according to shape as York Boats, Sturgeon-heads and Scows." Other old-timers—Ballantyne, Hind and J. J. Hargrave—simply describe the craft they knew as inland boats, even when their description is of the York boat.

Well before Pike's day, however, the York boat had fairly earned its name by annually making the great round trip from Portage la Loche (between the Saskatchewan and Athabaska river systems) to York Factory and back, till steamers and the railway reached Red River. The other inland boats did not attempt this great annual return journey. The scow, a ponderous rectangular raft with upright sides and square bow and stern, was built afresh each year to make one trip down stream and be broken up. The sturgeon-head was a clinker-built boat, narrower than a scow, and curving forward to a blunt bow. Unlike the scow it could be tracked upstream (*Beaver*, Sept. 1948, p. 27) and used on repeated trips; but it was too "tubby" to be sailed over lakes, and so, in contrast to the York boat, was confined to more or less local river work. The earlier old timers had an excellent reason (if they knew it) for not giving the name of York to the most famous breed of the H B C's inland boats—namely, that York Factory did not, in fact,

originate the boats now named after it. For their first two decades the inland journeys from York were made in birch-bark canoes. It was Albany House that first produced the famous wooden craft which proved so well suited to the rivers of the North.

In 1743 Albany had founded her first inland outpost at Henley House and at first used canoes to maintain communications with it. To the parliamentary committee which investigated the H B C in 1749, these canoes were stated to be "24 or 28 Feet long and 4 Feet wide, which draws 8 inches Water and will carry a great weight." These were fine craft, far better than York Fort was able to get three decades later to supply Cumberland House; but they were not good enough to satisfy the factor in charge at Albany. He was another thrifty Orkneyman, by name Joseph Isbister, and in his journal for 1745 he complained "theres no eand to building Cannoes" and expressed the intention "to make triell to build a boat to Drawe as letle watter as a Canno and Carie more goods." Isbister's intentions proved better than his spelling. At a date at present uncertain the boats were produced and superseded canoes on the Albany. Philip Turnor found them the regular means of transport when he surveyed that river in 1779.

As the men of Albany felt the competition of the Pedlars from Montreal, they did some remarkable travelling with their heavy wooden boats. In 1777 they pushed on 240 miles beyond Henley to found Gloucester House; in 1786 to Lake St. Joseph to found Osnaburgh House; in 1790 they reached English River; in 1793 they built posts on the Winnipeg River, Rainy River and at Brandon House on the Assiniboine, and so, by perhaps the unlikeliest route, reached the prairies where the buffalo provided pemmican and plenty undreamt of at the dreary fish-eating posts along the route. It was a vast exploration, enormously increasing Albany's fur returns, and, if Turnor writing

in 1779 and the Nor'Wester Duncan McGillivray writing in 1794 do not mislead us, it was all done with "York boats." In 1803, Alexander Henry of the N. W. Co. met the Albany men going up the Assiniboine to Brandon House and describes their brigade. They had five boats, he says, "neatly built and painted and sharp at both ends; they are propelled by 4 oarsmen and a steersman and carry 45 packages . . . averaging 80 lbs. each." These early boats of Albany were evidently rather small. A normal crew for the York boats of later days was six to eight oarsmen, a common load was seventy pieces of 90 lbs. weight, but the inland boats, as Pike remarked, were classified according to shape and their two sharp ends stamp these crafts as belonging to the authentic York boat family.

The York boat, we are sometimes told, was "prosaic." Canadian history has crowned the Nor'Westers great birch canoes and their swarthy *voyageurs* with a halo of romance, and looked askance at the "slow" York boats of the H B C. It is therefore worth repeating that the H B C's York boats were in almost every way more efficient craft than their rivals' canoes. They were cheaper because they carried more cargo in proportion to crew. They were far more seaworthy and could safely cross lakes in storms that kept canoes weatherbound upon the beach. They were little harmed by floating ice, which could ruin canoes. They also sailed better. There is a popular legend that they were dismally slow when compared with the Nor'-Westers' canoes. This legend seems to spring from comparing them with the light canoes in which the Nor'West wintering partners commonly hurried on ahead of their brigades. But the light canoe equally outdistanced the heavy freighting canoe. Richard Hooker, who began his service with the H B C in the earliest years of this century when York boats were still regularly, and freighting canoes occasionally, used, assures me the York boat was not noticeably the

The Reader family in the York boat which brought them from The Pas to Fort Garry in 1887. The boy in white is Northcote Reader, now living at The Pas. Photo taken below the walls of the fort, on the Assiniboine.





Paul Kane's picture of a York boat brigade. By the time he came to paint this in Toronto he had evidently forgotten what a York boat looked like; but it is interesting to note that he has shown one of the sails painted.

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

slower craft. It was only on portages that the canoe had an advantage to offer.

Such being the advantages enjoyed by the H B C on the Albany, it was only natural that they should come to use boats on the Saskatchewan as well. So in 1779 Philip Turnor, with the support of Wm. Tomison and Robert Longmore, two loyal and experienced servants inland, urged that an Orkney boatbuilder be sent to Cumberland with "Rudder Irons, Nails & Roves"; timber was abundant on the spot; Indians, Turnor suggested, could carry trade goods in canoes from York to Cumberland and the boats could take them on to supply the upriver posts.

Turnor's suggestion was not immediately adopted. At the date it was made, it was perhaps impracticable anyway, for 1779-83 were war years when unskilled, let alone skilled, labour was almost unprocurable. The Saskatchewan brigades continued to use canoes at least until 1794.*

The first record of the regular and systematic use of boats on that river comes from Peter Fidler about 1800. Then boats were carrying furs down beyond Cumberland House and over Lake Winnipeg as far as Oxford House, where they were exchanged for goods brought over the height of land in canoes from Gordon House on the Rock Hill River. Between York and Gordon House boats were used again. It will be observed that at this date the York men shunned taking their boats over the tougher portages. Their reason was perhaps the size of the craft. Forty-five pieces was all the load Henry saw carried in the Albany boats in 1803, but at Vermilion House on the Saskatchewan in 1808 he was opposed by H B C men from York whose boats carried seventy pieces—half as great a load again.

The portages were indeed a problem. First, a road ten feet wide had to be cut through the bush for the boats and their manhandlers; then rollers had to be

cut and laid three feet apart all along the portage to run the boats over. Poplar logs made the best rollers; and, says one of Wolseley's staff officers who took a hand in the job on the Red River Expedition of 1870, "whatever trees are used should be green and have a smooth bark; after rain or heavy dew there was a perceptible difference in the labour of dragging the boats; the wet made the bark slippery and the boats would then go over as if on greased rollers." This method was presumably first used on the upper Albany in the 1770's, but it is first described on the Saskatchewan by Alexander Henry, in 1808, and he bitterly complains that the logs encumbering the path were "a nuisance to our people frequently causing accidents that endanger lives." Here was added fuel to the strife between the companies! When a brigade came to a portage, a number of crews could lighten their work by all heaving together on one boat at a time. A single boat's crew had a heavy job on their hands; for them a block and tackle might be necessary.

In spite of the labour of portaging, York boats had such clear advantages over canoes, particularly of economy in manpower and wages, that it is strange the N.W. Co. never adopted them. Economy, it is true, was hardly the Nor'Westers' strong point, but once the companies were united in 1821 boats were substituted for canoes throughout the service. The new chief factors appointed from the personnel of the two old companies had shares in the common concern and, as expectant dividers of profits, all alike plumped for the York boat instead of canoes; and the H B C, of course, could supply the skilled boatbuilders the N. W. Co. had never developed.

At the time of the union of the companies the H B C were using boats of, apparently, various sizes. When Franklin reached York Factory in 1819 he reported that the Governor selected one of the largest of the Company's boats for his use: as Franklin was a pro-

*It is perhaps no coincidence that the first boats built on the Saskatchewan in 1795 are attributed to George Sutherland of Edmonton House; for 18 years earlier we find him travelling the Albany, where boats, and not canoes, were the normal means of transport.—R.G.



The earliest known photo of a York boat, taken by H. S. Hime in 1858. It is called a "Red River Freighter's Boat," and is almost exactly the same model as the one now preserved at the Lower Fort.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES OF CANADA

professional sailor, his words may perhaps be taken at their face value when he speaks of boats, and "largest" implies variety. Certainly the minutes of the Council of the Northern Department for 1821 speak of boats of at least two sizes—one "Large" and one "Small." Yet when that same Council ordered the building of new boats, in accordance with its policy of substituting boats for canoes, it gave no more precise specifications of what was wanted than that the new craft should be "of the usual size." It is normal for vagueness to lead to confusion and inconvenience, and such was no doubt the result in this case, for in 1823 the Council took care to decree that all new boats should have a minimum keel length of 24 feet. This was re-enacted annually (except in 1824) till 1828 when it was permanently embodied in a standing regulation.

In later years the capacity of the craft thus standardized was somewhat increased. In the 1820's Simpson had reckoned that 1,000 pieces of 90 pounds weight was a reasonable cargo for fourteen boats to carry from York Factory to Red River—that is, some three tons per boat; but in 1869 J. J. Hargrave wrote that the inland boats could carry three and one-half tons of freight, an increase of nearly 20 percent. This change was apparently made some years before Hargrave wrote; whereas the boats built in the 1820's had a keel length of 24-27 feet, those on the Saskatchewan in 1858 had a keel length of 30 feet, with an overall length of 42 feet, beam 9 feet, inside depth 3 feet. When loaded with 70 pieces they drew only two feet of water. In the early years of this century three different classes of York boat were in use. These were named after their cargo carrying capacities as "60-piece boats," "100-piece boats" and "120-piece boats," the standard piece then weighing 100 pounds.

The life of a York boat was short. Prof. Hind in 1859 reported that, though heavily and strongly built, the boats lasted "only about three years, having to undergo such severe strains and hard usage in the rapids and portages on the routes followed;" and back in 1821 George Simpson had complained of the way in which the boats then used on the Saskatchewan wore out in three years, only he blamed their quick decay on their being "too slender and not sufficiently iron fastened." But the Company's boat building stations, scattered through the forest belt north of the prairies from Fort Chipewyan to James Bay, all lay in an area that produces no good hard woods.

Hence the boat building timbers used in the North were soft woods, and this, as well as rough usage, would account for the short life of the Company's boats. When Warburton Pike went down the Athabaska in 1889 he found that "planks, nails and pitch are always kept ready to effect repairs and are in frequent demand." The shortness of a York boat's life made the skilled boat builder one of the most valuable of the Company's employees in old days. His wages were fixed by the Council of the Northern department in 1828 at a maximum of £30 a year, and among the non-commissioned servants of the Company only post masters and clerks were allowed more than this.

"That cumbrous old failure of a sailboat" is E. T. Seton's parting condemnation of a York boat loaned him by the H B C to cross Great Slave Lake in 1907; his language may fairly reflect the troubles of his voyage, but it is not a reasonable criticism of the York boats. They were never designed for sailing. Lakes were but a small portion of the immense distances of water the York boats were built to travel. The rivers they had to navigate were frequently shallow, and the H B C could not afford the luxury of deep-keeled sailing boats; hence "the flat floors which made them very leewardly." Had they been built otherwise they could not have been tracked up rapids. So the great square sail of the York boat was often useless; yet those who have used them recall that with a good crew they could be sailed surprisingly close to the wind. (Seton's crew, on the other hand, were nearly all full-blooded Chipewyans.) In areas where the boats were commonly sailed, a rudder was carried and used when sail was raised; and though the boats were always "country-made" of native soft woods the rudders were sometimes made of oak and imported from England. When rowed the boats were normally steered with a sweep; all its leverage was sometimes required to swing the heavy laden craft clear of danger in rapids.

Men running to escape from a fifty-foot scow rolling down a portage hill. Note the rollers, also used for portaging York boats.

G. W. MATHERS





A York boat near Norway House. Note how the men rowed from the far side of the boat, and stood up for the start of each stroke. GEOL. SURVEY

Time would fail us if we attempted to describe all the cargoes York boats bore inland, but some of them are too remarkable to omit—cathedral bells for St. Boniface, wheeled carriages for retired H B C officers to drive about the settlement, pianos for chief factors' wives and daughters, and nine- and six-pounder guns for the Royal Warwickshires came up all the thirty-four portages of the Hayes route and over Lake Winnipeg to Red River; and did the Upper Fort Garry billiard table on which Riel declined to play with Lt. Butler in 1870 come the same way? It may have done, but after 1859 goods were reaching "Winnipeg" by river steamer from St. Paul, so we cannot definitely chalk up the transport and portaging of a billiard table to the credit of the York boats and their voyageurs (though we may believe them capable of it). Besides these imports, there was also the export trade in live buffalo discussed in a recent issue of the *Beaver*. Robert Ballantyne describes two young buffalo at Norway House en route to York as "the wildest little wretches I ever saw and a source of great

H.R.H. Princess Alice and the Earl of Athlone examine the last of the York boats, now preserved at Lower Fort Garry. It was sent there from Norway House in 1935. (*Beaver*, Sept. 1935.)



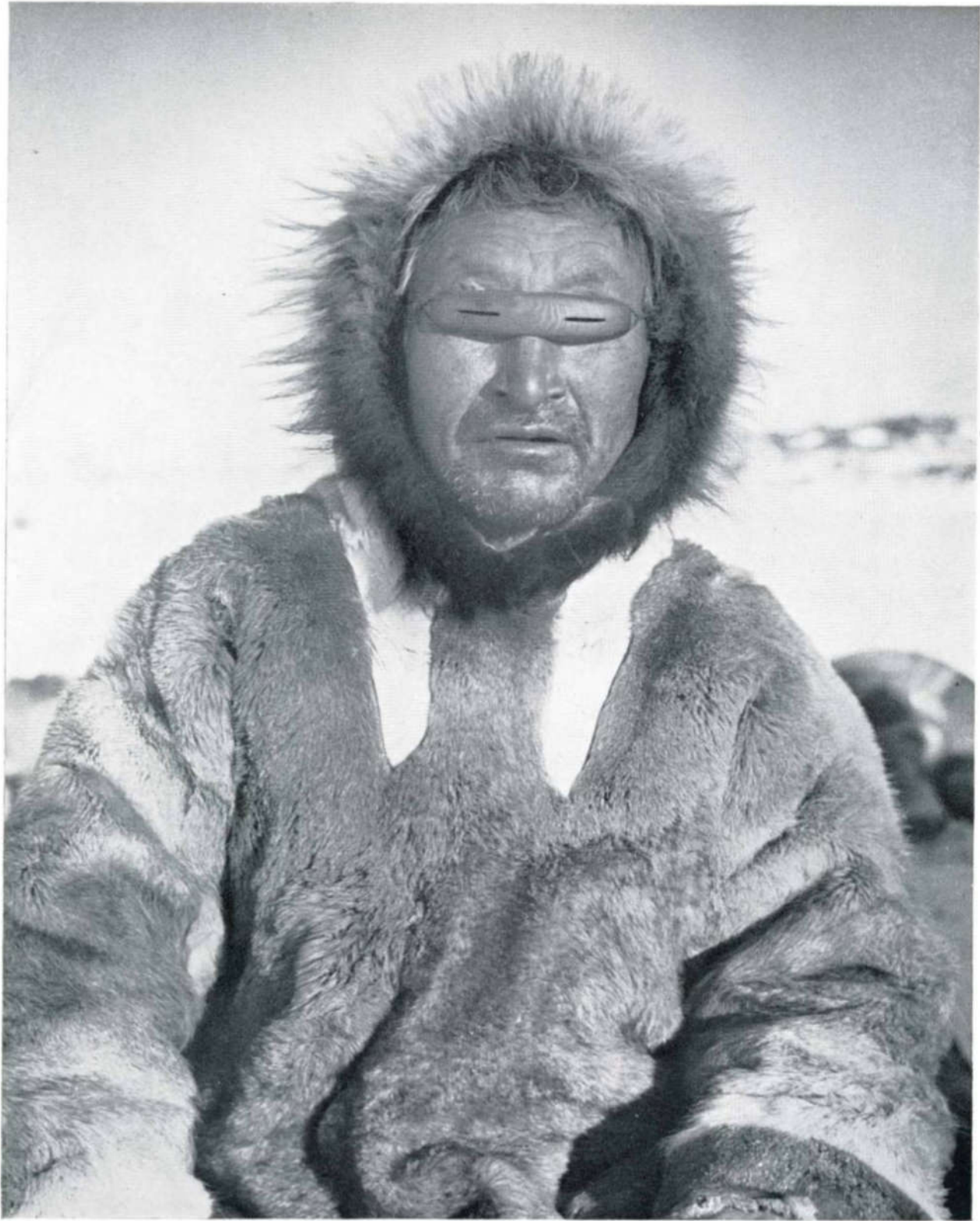
Building a small York boat near Lac Seul, about 1923. HUGH S. EVANS

annoyance to the men during the voyage." One can believe that a live, kicking and obstreperous buffalo calf would be an annoying companion in a York boat, but the animals travelled in them all the same. And, of course, domestic cattle travelled all over the Northwest in them; in 1835 at Fort Chipewyan Capt. Back met "some boats from . . . Peace River, whence they also brought a cow and calf and thereby provided us with luxuries till then untasted at Chipewyan."

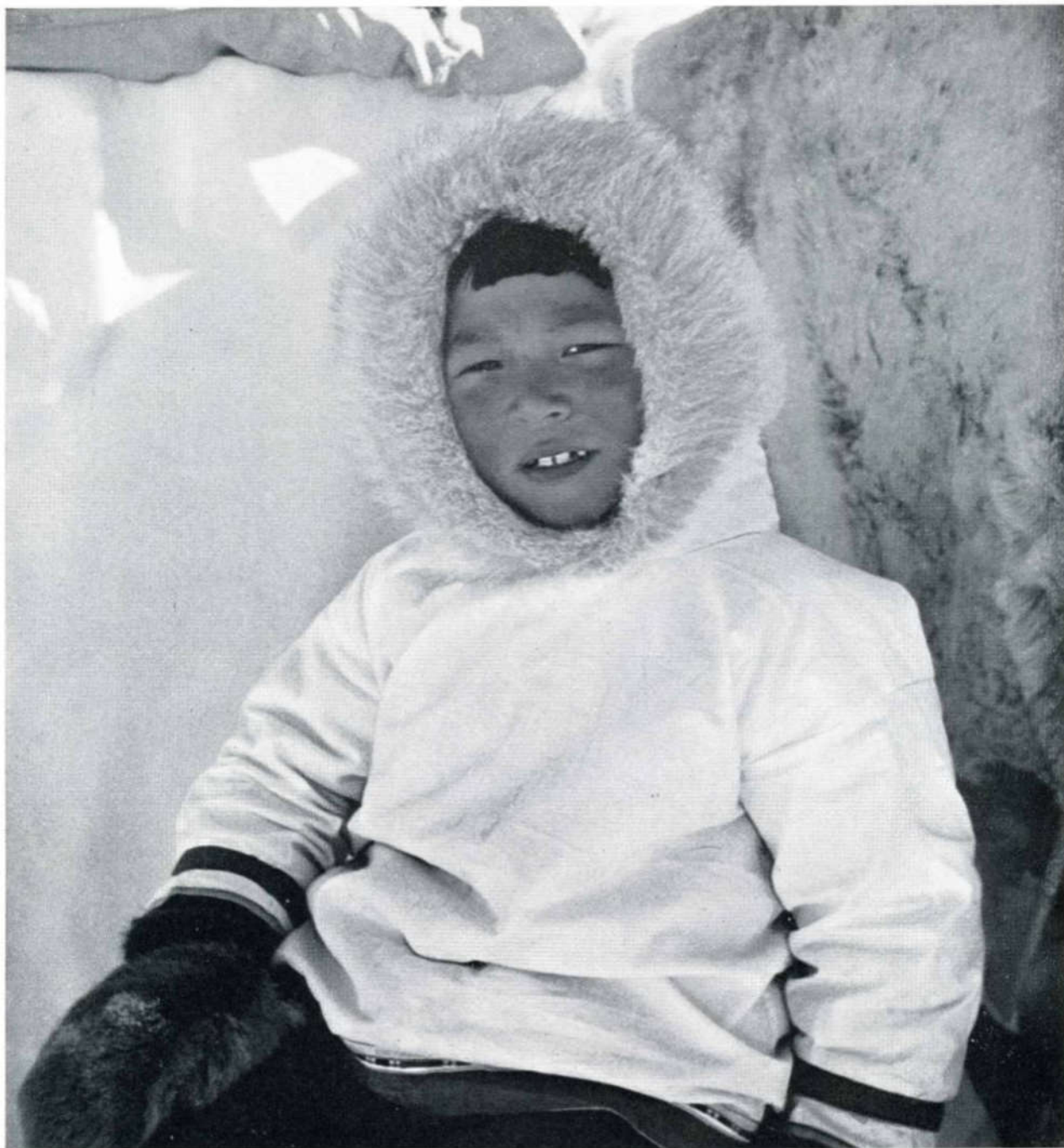
The same demand for economy and dividends that gave the York boat its victory over the canoe was in the end to sweep it into oblivion. When Professor Hind met Chief Factor Christie of Edmonton House at the head of the Grand Rapids in 1858, the latter "expressed a hope that the long-talked-of steamers would soon make their appearance on Lake Winnipeg;" and the Company did get steamers, not only on Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan, but the Mackenzie too. They got them in good time—just before the extinction of the buffalo, without which, says Hind, it would have been impossible to carry on their "vast system of internal communication" with its 200 boats and the 1200 voyageurs with endless appetites for pemmican. When steamers took the heavy loads and the long hauls, the sphere of the York boats was severely restricted; and it was abolished with the invention of an engine suitable for canoes in the 1920's. So the canoe won the last round, though only (if we may be permitted a final moment of unpractical sentiment) at the cost of turning the voyageur into a grease-monkey and marring the silence of the wilderness with the racket of gasoline motors.

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Beaver, Oct. Nov., Dec., 1923; Sept. 1935, p. 10; Dec. 1940, p. 24; Dec. 1943, p. 32.



Aod-la-taok wearing the primitive—but highly efficient—Eskimo goggles of wood, to guard against snow blindness.



All dressed up and going places.

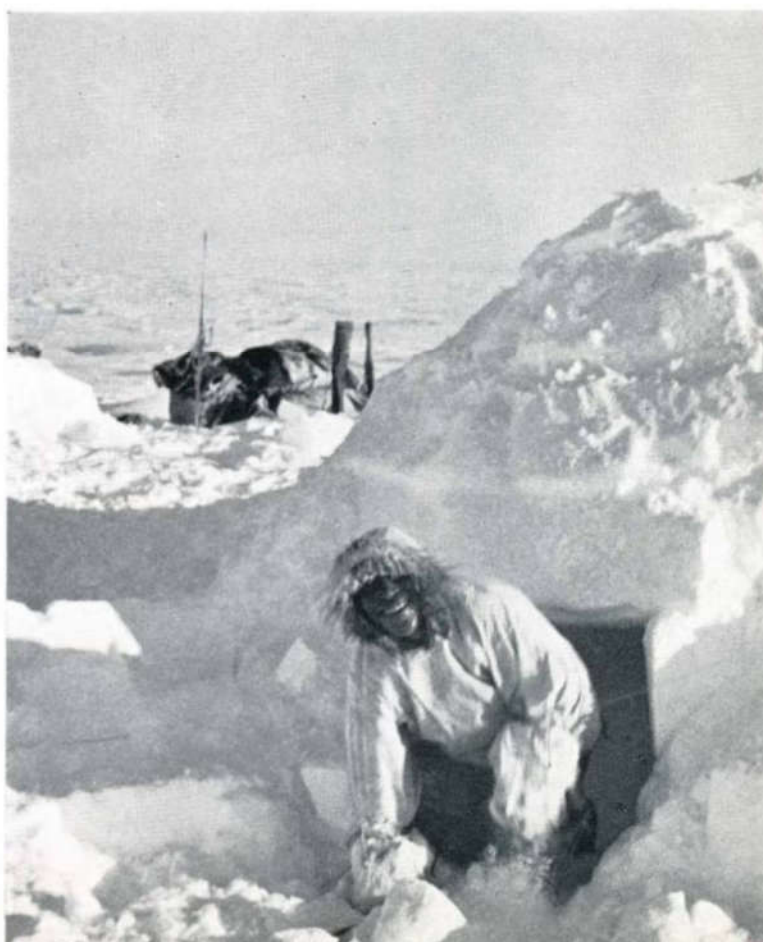
Around
CORONATION GULF

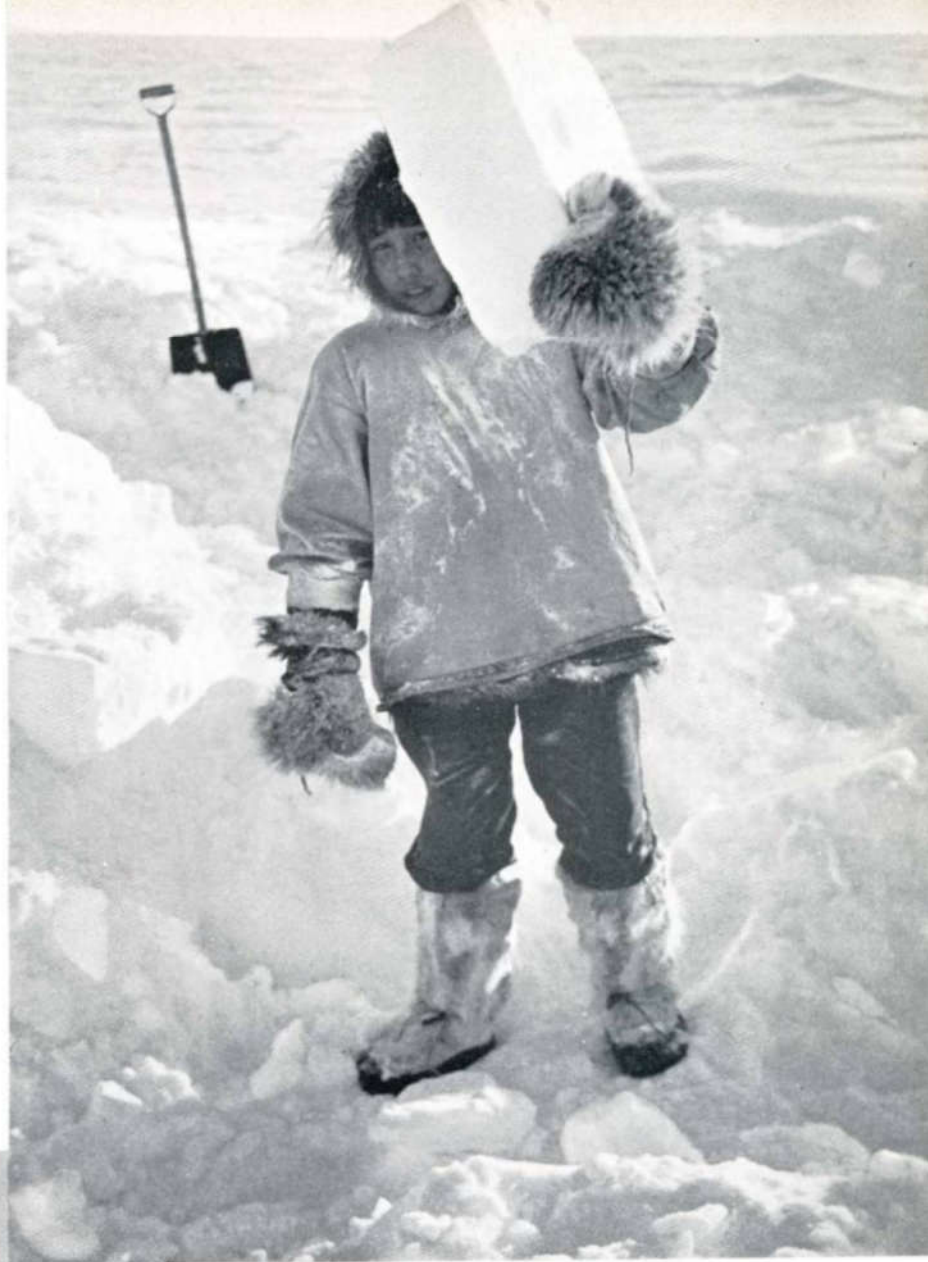
A group of Western Arctic photos

by J. H. Webster

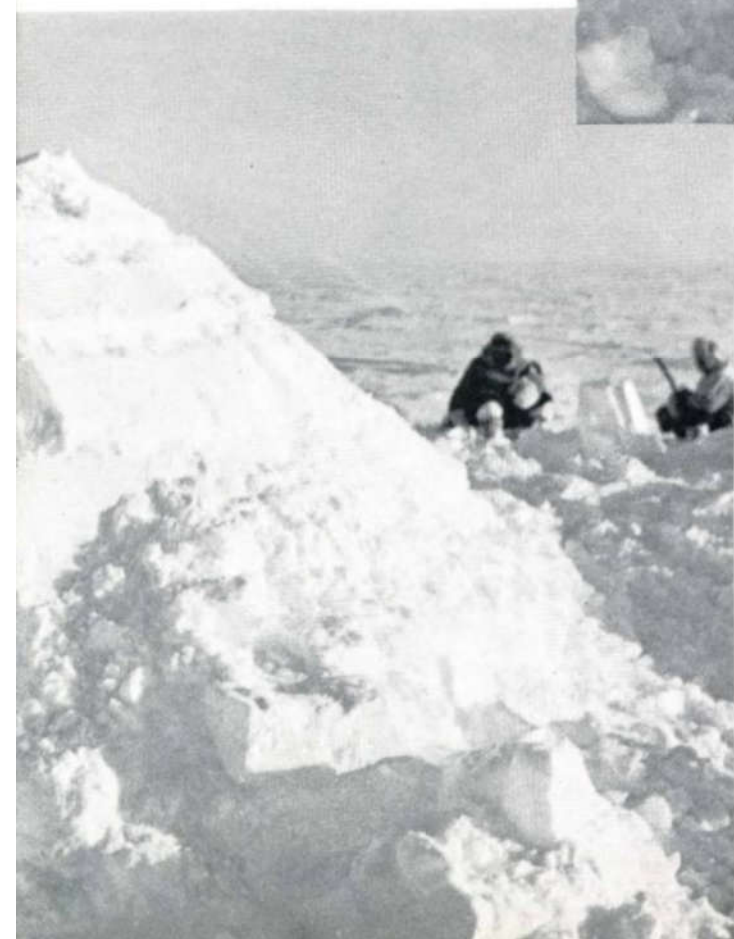


Kogliak and family, clothed in deerskin from head to toe. The large hoods are trimmed with wolf skin.





Snow block for the igloo.



Trail igloo, just finished.



Sea-ice travel in April. Beyond the team is a ridge of ice formed by the pressure of opposing masses.

Approaching Coppermine at the end of May, when water covers the ice.



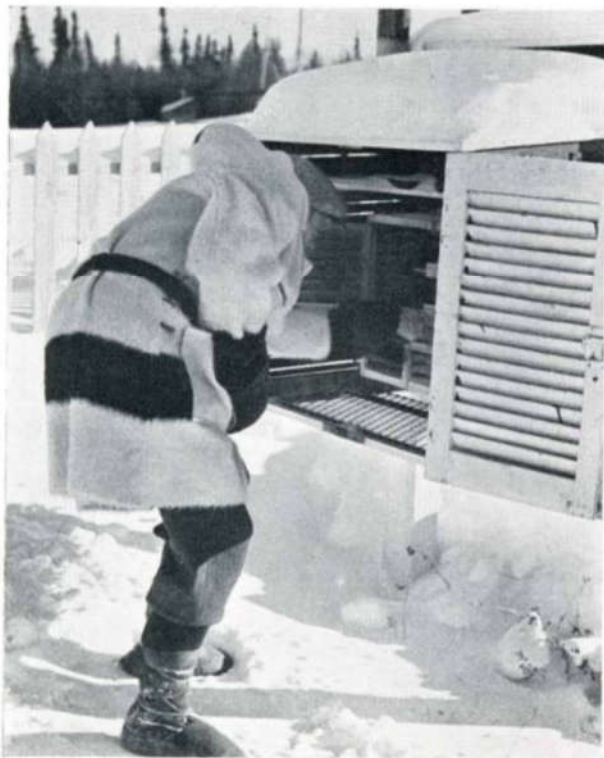
NORWAY HOUSE

by W. B. Ready

J. B. Tyrrell, celebrated Canadian geologist, took this photo of Norway House in August 1890. On the left is Chief Factor Belanger's yacht. Geological Survey

NORWAY House still abides, where Jack River flows into Playgreen Lake. Few houses in the northwest can boast of such a storied past as this establishment, and the many memories it conjures up make it fitting that it should remain as a memorial to the days of King Beaver. The London Committee of the Company first envisaged it as a staging post on the winter road that was to connect York Factory with the settlement at Red River. In their English innocence they wrote of reindeer that were to be captured, broken to harness, and stabled there. A Norwegian road gang was brought in to lay the road, and because it was considered advisable to work down towards York Factory, they built their first shanty

Where Franklin and Lefroy made their astronomical observations, a Norway House post manager takes weather readings for transmission to Toronto by radio.



near the northern outlet of Lake Winnipeg. This rude shelter was the first Norway House, erected in the fall of 1814. To its sanctuary fled some of the Selkirk Settlers in the troubled times of 1815, and Colin Robertson found them huddled there, as his diary recorded, when he arrived at Norway House in the July of that same year to mount the first Company venture into the Athabaska. It was from there that Simpson set out on his maiden campaign, and the explorer Franklin passed through in 1819. The proper Nicholas Garry saw Peter Fidler marry his Indian girl there under the peremptory blessing of John West, and the Company seal was set on its importance when the first Council of the Northern Department convened at that establishment in August 1821. Norway House was to stand at a Company cross-roads, as the reorganized traders thrust inwards from the Bay, and Montreal became a friendly depot, not an enemy base.

John McLean was to marry his two brides from Norway House, and the Reverend James Evans was to flash past it in his tin canoe. The light lady Turner, in her flame-coloured gown, was to distract the post with her beguiling, and Norquay was to go out haying, little realizing that his son who was yet to be would be premier of a nascent province in a new dominion that was to succeed the Company rule in Rupert's Land. So many things happened at the post that this generation is fortunate to be able to realize them through the letters, journals and diaries that the Company people wrote at the time, giving us a vivid picture of Norway House in the days of its greatness.

It is not generally realized that there have been three Norway Houses. The first was reared uncertainly in October and November 1814, a time of great crisis in Company affairs. This first construction was intended only as a shelter for the Norwegian road gang and as a staging post on the projected winter road. Its beginnings were so inauspicious that in August 1815 Governor Semple wrote to Lord Selkirk complaining of the miserable progress that the Norwegians had been making. In order to expedite the work, Semple in 1816 persuaded some of the settlers to remain there and assist in laying down the road. The Company increased its importance by making it a trading post, closing down in its favour the Jack River post which had been operating since 1796. The importance of the

THE BEAVER, March 1949

Athabaska district tended to make it the depot of an increasingly aggressive Company which had slowly roused itself to anger against its treacherous competitors. The apparent disaster of Robertson's effort against the Nor'westers paid the dividend when Simpson traded in that same region in 1820. Both thrusts had been mounted from Norway House. The labourers' shanty had become a house of some importance in the first decade of its brief existence.

The meetings of the Council that sometimes took place there added to its importance. Governor Simpson frequently stayed at the post, and in February 1822 he was nearly "killed by kindness," as he phrased it, while laid up at Norway House with an attack of quinsy. Colin Robertson was in charge there then, and he recommended that the Governor should rub his throat with some hartshorn. An eager beaver of a clerk broke open an Athabaska piece, and pulled out a bottle, which was applied as a salve to Simpson's anguished throat. It caused the skin to sting so much that they made a poultice with it, and wrapped it around the neck of the suffering man. Simpson still complained that it was stinging too much, and then it was found that the clerk had made a mistake in the bottles and had been applying raw alcohol instead of the soothing hartshorn. When the poultice was removed, wrote Colin Robertson solemnly, "it was found burnt to rags."

Despite the notables who passed through there, and despite its growing importance, this first Norway House was in a poor fur-trading district, and it was inconveniently situated at the northern outlet of Lake Winnipeg. When it burned down in November 1824, it was rebuilt on a very modest scale, more as a store house than anything else. The Council had come to the conclusion that it was not justifying the cost of its maintenance, and Chief Trader Pruden was directed in July 1825 that only four men were to provide its establishment, winter and summer, and he was also directed "to keep no general Mess, nor to allow Balls or convivial parties during the summer." After three years this second, restrained, Norway House was abandoned in favour of the new establishment twenty miles away, near the old Jack River post, upon which construction had been started in 1826. Simpson's Journal of 1826-7 mentioned the choosing

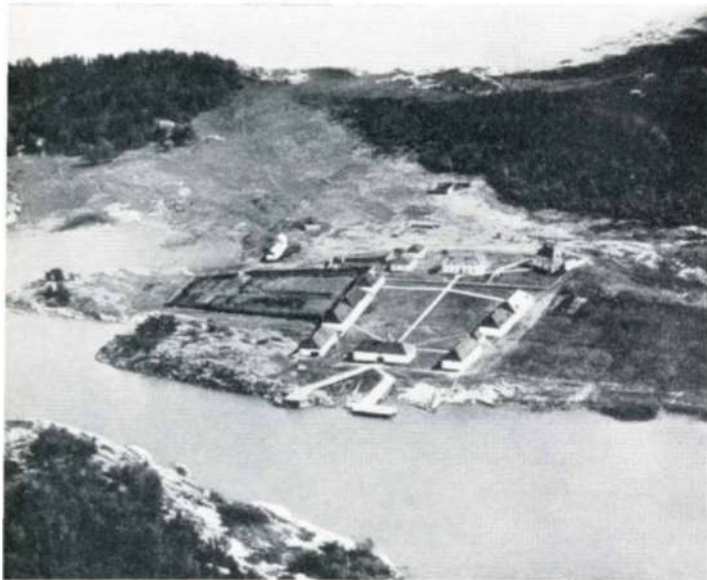
of the site for the new Norway House and remarked on the progress that was being made with the erection of some of the buildings there. It seems apparent that the fire of 1824 confirmed the Council in their intention to build at Playgreen Lake, and the meagre establishment of Pruden's was just a temporary makeshift set up over the blackened ruins while the New Norway House was being established, 1826-28. These first buildings were to become the lower fort when Ross began to build above them in 1831, and subsequent building was to be confined more or less to the area covered by these early constructions.

As its first chief trader, John McLeod was appointed. He was a sound man, who well deserved the appointment, for it was he who had so dourly and uprightly withstood the Nor'westers during the troubles at Red River a decade previously. He stayed there only a few years however, and in his place was appointed Chief Trader Donald Ross, whose name was to become almost synonymous with Norway House. He was to remain in charge for twenty-one years, and only left there to die in retirement at Fort Garry almost immediately afterwards. Ross had been private secretary to Governor Simpson for the seven years previous to his Norway House appointment, and the governor's shrewd estimate of his erstwhile secretary has survived the years: "A very steady regular well-behaved man who understands the whole routine of the interior business better than any of his class. . . . Manages Indians and servants very well, and possesses all the system and regularity necessary for the charge of a depot; but his constitution has been injured by too much confinement at a desk; he is moreover hippish and fanciful as regards to ailments. . . ." This steady man, who was the chief builder of Norway House, became a chief factor in 1839.

Within three years of Ross's appointment, John McLean, that disgruntled man, had pleasant things to say of Norway House. By this time Simpson's report of 1831 had begun to be acted upon, and it was becoming an auxiliary depot of York Factory, with buildings going up to accommodate the increasing business. McLean was on his way northeastwards towards his great discoveries when he said of Norway House: "Here the men were liberally supplied, and I

One of the earliest known pictures of Norway House, hitherto unpublished. A water colour of 1858 by W. H. E. Napier, reproduced here by courtesy of Mrs. G. S. Currie. Compare with the photo on the opposite page.





Aerial view of Norway House taken about 1921.

found myself at breakfast with a number of chief factors and chief traders, just arrived from their respective districts, and on their way to York Factory with their valuable returns. . . . I passed my time very agreeably, having just enough employment during the day to keep off *ennui*, and the company of several gentlemen, and, what I thought still better, that of a fair countrywoman in the evening." John McLean did not forget the fair lady that he met at Norway House, for in 1837 he returned and married her. Mrs. McLean lived only a year after the wedding, leaving her husband bereft and with an infant son to care for.

During the thirties Norway House was reaching its full stature. Donald Ross's diary for 1835 gives an idea of the manifold activities at the post. By this time his reports to the Council show that most of the original buildings had been torn down and rebuilt, and a new winter establishment erected, and joined to the older portion of the post with a stockade. During 1835 a new house was being raised for the governor, boats were being built (eight during the winter 1833-4), a new store was being erected, and outfits were being received and sent off. Moreover the Red River Colony was becoming such a sizeable community that even in the twenties its freight traffic was engaging the attention of such a notable person as Cuthbert Grant, now the friend of the Company and the defender of the colony. A few extracts from Ross's diary, now in the archives of British Columbia, give some idea of the activities of Norway House at this time:

"1835. Monday August 10. Sent Norquay, Narcisse, Martin and Louis Guibord with three Indians up to Jack River to make hay. Got three whitefish from the nets. Dr. King of the Arctic Land Expedition arrived in a boat with ten men from the Athabaska. The Swan River Brigade of three boats arrived from York late in the evening.

Tuesday August 11. Mr. Allan MacDonnell with one boat of the Lake la Pluie Brigade arrived from YF. in 23 days. Got the Swan River Brigade arranged for an early start in the morning.

Monday August 17. Norquay, Guibord and Martin with four Indians at the hay making. Cadotte and Martin Lavalle



Panoramic view inside the fort. The two-storey house was built Archway Warehouse (extreme right), the

with Merriman & Garson covering the new summer house with bark, McKay working in the forge, George Donald taking care of the cattle . . . Sent off the Island Lake Brigade. . . .

Wednesday September 2. George Sandison with the Red River Brigade of 5 boats arrived from York Factory—John Ritch the carpenter came with them. [James Hargrave wrote in one of his letters how Ritch hated the assignment to Norway House, because of the frugality of the rations there. Ritch used to mutter about the quantities of fish that Ross provided in lieu of meat.]

Thursday October 29. Ritch, Flett, Cartier & Norquay variously employed. Daunais erecting a work bench in the new house, Donald mudding the forge & the two Pork-eaters hauling lengths of wood with the oxen. . . ."

In his first decade at Norway House Donald Ross had both extended and rebuilt the post to an extent commensurate with its importance in the Company's economy. The results of his labour were pleasantly remarked upon by a young clerk on his way through in 1843. The young man was Augustus Peers, whose untimely death in the Arctic not many years later was to be the occasion for psychic manifestations reported by Roderick MacFarlane (*Beaver*, September 1939). The following extract is taken from the hitherto unpublished diary of the newly arrived young clerk, which is also found in the B.C. archives: "Norway House stands on the bank of Jack River at its junction with Play Green Lake. The fort, which is built of wood, is enclosed with high stockades. The houses are all of one storey high, and being whitewashed present a very neat and pleasing appearance. In front is a green enclosure, intersected by platforms, the main one leading down to the river through the principal store. [This is the Archway Warehouse which is still standing.]

"It boasts an extensive kitchen garden in which are grown vegetables of various kinds. A large farm is also attached and great quantities of excellent potatoes, barley, etc. are grown. It may therefore be seen that the inmates of this favoured spot are well to do and enjoy a fair share of the good things of life." It is plain, from this extract, that the Norway House of the road gang had been replaced by a solid and well regulated establishment.



1855 as a residence for the chief factor and his family. All buildings shown here have now disappeared, except the 1855 jail (one door) and the two to the left of that (old depot and store) both over a century old.

By the early forties Norway House had become a place of great eminence in the Company. Its importance was very much increased by the steadily growing volume of Red River Settlement trade that passed through on its way to and from the Bay. In 1841 the Red River Brigade passed through, freighting, among other things, the unprecedented luxury of an Old Country gig, ordered by Mr. Andrew McDermot. By 1843 the traffic was nearly too much for the Company to bear, and James Hargrave wrote wrathfully to Donald Ross about the work that the Company servants had to do at York Factory unloading Red River goods: "... A morning spent in trying to find room and almost in vain for the pyramids of packages addressed to McDermot, Sinclair, Thomas, Mowat, & a legion such names. I tell you what it is, if my labours are to go thus gratuitously to our well-nursed Colony, you may just appoint another to look after the offices of the trade... both are too much for one pair of shoulders..." The harassed man wrote to warn Ross what a traffic was on its way up-river towards him, and he finished his letter with the admonition, "be prepared for a band in full cry on you."

In order to be better prepared to meet the 1844 traffic, Donald Ross sent an advance agent down to York Factory. This was young Rab Ballantyne, who, as a Company servant, was a very good author. While everybody seems to have liked him personally, some doubts were expressed regarding his business acumen. It would have been a better idea, said William Mac-tavish to James Hargrave, to have sent a pair of trousers stuffed with straw rather than that same Ballantyne; and Donald Ross regretfully confessed that to leave any business with Ballantyne, even for a day, was to throw it into inextricable confusion. Still, even if Ballantyne was a poor clerk, he did make Hudson's Bay an exciting place for generations of boys through his writings.

The petulance and the testiness that both Hargrave and Ross displayed in their correspondence at this time might well have been due to their financial worries. Both of them, along with the Finlaysons and George Simpson, lost very heavily in the "Norway

trade." This venture had nothing to do with Norway House, and a letter written to Donald Ross from the banking house of Pelly in 1842 explained why the Company men lost so heavily on their investments. The Pelly bank had a trading subsidiary in Norway, in which Simpson and his lieutenants had placed their savings, and the "Hungry 'Forties" caught them ill-prepared. Letitia Hargrave, writing at this time, bemoaned the sad state of affairs: "The Norway affair is quite up. D. Finlayson had £2,000, Hargrave, Nicol Finlayson and Donald Ross £1,000. ... Poor Don Ross and Nicol Finlayson say they have no other money whatsoever & are a good deal cast down."

Despite this financial reverse, James Hargrave was able to write a very lively letter to Donald Ross about the wanton Mrs. Turner, whom Ross had sent down from Norway House. The woman had come out the previous summer with the Finlaysons as a nursemaid, but she did not suit, and was on her way home: "Aye, you have sent me a fine parcel of morals in your export of Madam Turner. ... I fear there may be heads broke for her yet, before she leaves. In a flame coloured gown she flounces at all hours through our men's houses, and if it does not set something else on fire, 'tis neither her nor its fault." *

In the year 1842 the general respectability of Norway House was further advanced by the establishment there of a Methodist mission. The Reverend James Evans was the pastor, and he admired Chief Factor Ross so much that he called his adjacent Indian settlement Rossville, where John McLean married his second bride in the summer of 1845. She was Clarissa, the missionary's daughter, and together they journeyed out of the northwest to settle in Canada; their journey is described by Rab Ballantyne, who travelled out with them. Letitia Hargrave, writing to her "Mama" about the wedding, mentioned that the Norway House people regarded the Reverend Evans as a little odd. It was no wonder that the prim and proper Donald Ross regarded his reverend friend with some apprehension. The tin canoe frankly worried him. Ross mentioned the contraption in a letter to his fellow factor Hargrave: "I would not even cross the

*MacLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, p. lvii.



Trappers leave for their rounds after stocking up at the post.

river in that *Tin Machine*, not for all the gold that it could carry. It has been remade here, and now looks like a canoe, but it will never be a safe craft."

Despite the pessimism of Donald Ross, the missionary travelled thousands of miles in his famous craft, carrying along with him a soldering iron to repair the punctures. The Indians regarded it with awe, calling it "Island of Light." Evans died while visiting England in 1846, and his biographer has recorded that his last words were: "Heaven is just as near England as Norway House."

The 1850's saw the end of an era in Company history. The great governor was growing old, and so were the men who had helped him to re-establish the fortunes of the Company. The emphasis of north-western development was moving inland, away from the Bay. As early as 1842 James Hargrave noted that the Indians were moving inland from York Factory, towards Norway House and the Red River Settlement. The Settlement itself was ceasing to be a mere ward

The new store and warehouse (1917) stand on either side of the Archway Warehouse, which in 1813 was the "principal store."

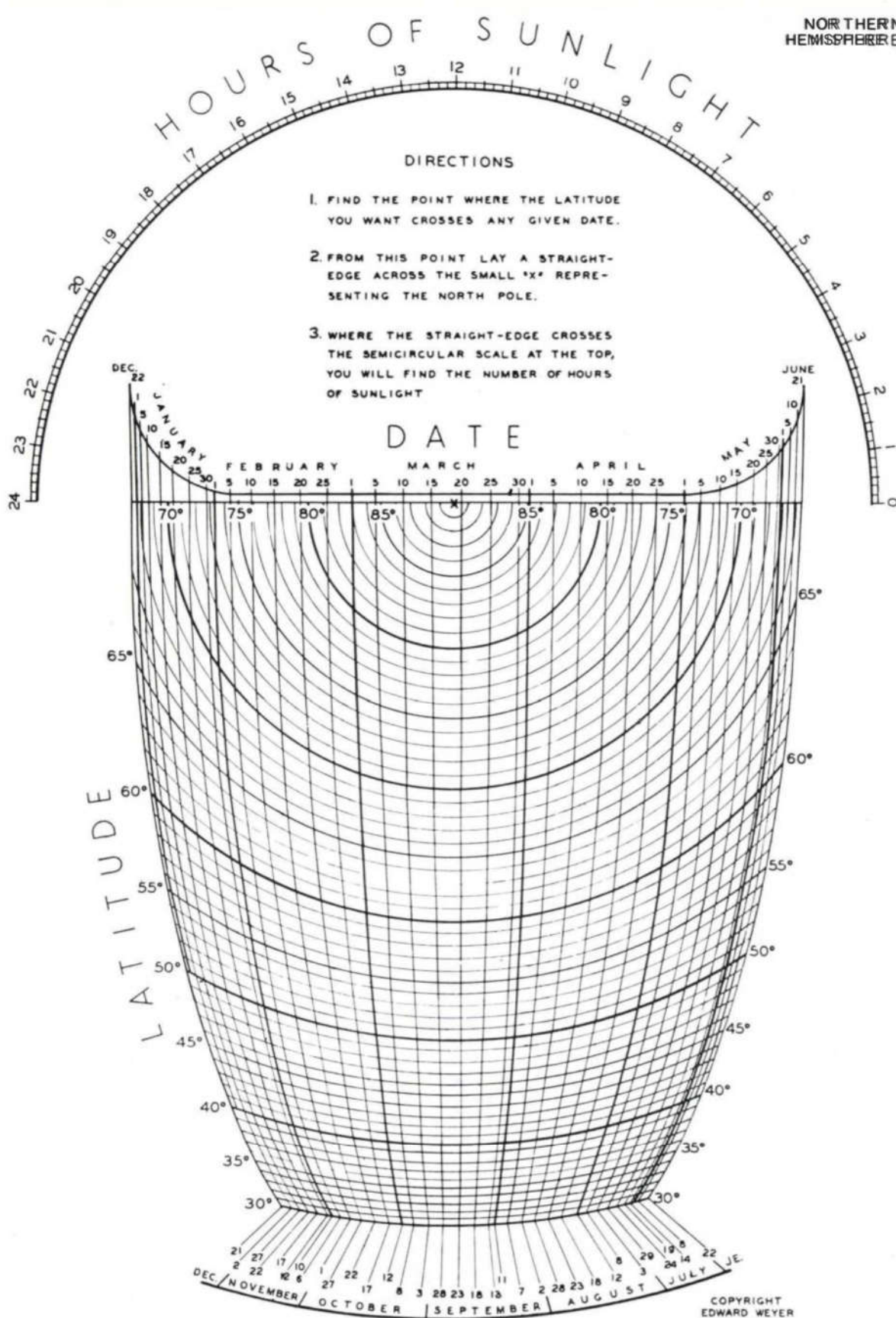


of the Company, and was developing along its own lines. Although in 1856 there were still fifty-five boats of from three to five tons burden plying through Norway House; there were at the same time more than three hundred Red River carts freighting supplies into Assiniboia from St. Paul. The development of western settlement was beginning, and Norway House became a lesser place because of it.

Norway House still abides, where Jack River flows into Playgreen Lake, but, although an observer early in this century remarked that the first lady of that establishment was treated like a queen, her suzerainty lay over quiet places. The great days of Norway House are now a memory. One side of the fort, including the historic building where the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land used to meet, was torn down ten years ago, and last year the old "pork warehouse" had to be demolished. But the powder magazine of 1838, oldest stone building in the North, still stands (though uncertainly), and three of the buildings along the south side. Most important of all, the archway warehouse is being preserved by the Manitoba Government, and it will stand as a fitting memorial to the men who fostered the first settlement in western Canada, building securely for a future they never saw.

Painting the belfry over the Archway Warehouse. The bell bears the words: "Ship Sea Horse Launched March 30th 1782. Hudson's Bay Company."





How Much Sunlight Will There Be?

This chart is of interest to airmen, photographers, and all others in the northern hemisphere to whom the hours of daylight are important. Designed by Edward Weyer, Jr., editor of "Natural History," it shows the number of hours of sunlight on a given date at any latitude from 30° N. Dr. Weyer has also designed a chart for the twilight hours.

I AM IN LOVE WITH DOGS

by J. E. Beaudet, O.M.I.

ATRUCE for a moment to your objections! Yes, I am in love with canines, and, to be exact, with the Eskimo species! Laugh if you will; look upon me as queer, yet I re-assert, I love my dogs. Now let us come to an understanding. My sentiments of affection are not those bestowed upon relatives and friends; they spring from deep sympathy and a peculiar tenderness which binds me closely to them.

It is generally admitted that the Eskimo husky is a descendant of the wolf. The proof brought forward to substantiate this assertion is based on two facts; the oblique slant of his eyes, like his grandfather's, and the lack of the function of barking.

The Eskimo dog is not built for the hunt, but for the pack. His head is the wolf's with the exception of the rounded ears which, held permanently erect, are covered with short, thick hair; the stocky, arched neck extends into a long muscular chest or brisket; the strong legs terminate in almost round feet with well covered toes. He generally carries his tail erect as if to declare his independence. In the spring he sheds much of his thick heavy bristling coat.

From his ancestor he inherits hypocrisy, ferocity and spite; but once he is subdued, the dog nature predominates in the qualities of blind, indefatigable confidence and a spirit of sincere self-renunciation in favour of his master, whose beating he takes submissively and to whom he is faithful to death. He watches, interrogates and barks at him with his eyes, by turn eloquent, discreet, suffering, playful or melancholic, according to his master's humour.

"But understand," he seems to say, "I am yours for good; I share your joys and trials; I thrill to your enthusiasm; I struggle energetically with you in your difficulties; in return I expect only a little love and sympathy; will you give them to me?"

The dog, the only means of transportation in our wild, rugged regions, co-operates most generously. In the course of preparations for harnessing, the dogs become electrified, jumping to the end of their leashes and frantically pawing the ground. What a

sight! What a symphony of major and minor notes burst forth from those canine throats! The ears stretch and take aim; the eyes—gray, yellow, black and fawn colour—shoot sparks and become rounder and more piercing.

"Where are we going?" one of them cries. "I knew something was afoot last night when we were given two servings!"

"Look!" replies his neighbour, "we are not going for wood this morning. The big sled is out, so the Father must be taking a ride!"

"And we are going far," interjects Ti-Boule. "See how carefully he is glazing the runners, and how he inspects every bit of harness! Never have I seen him so lynx-eyed."

How are the teams harnessed? Nothing is simpler. A strap around the neck, crossed between the forelegs and attached on the back to a cord which serves as a trace. That's all! All the cords, gathered in one bunch are attached to the sled, the whole crew looking like a huge, pointed fan which glides over the great expanses of the lake.

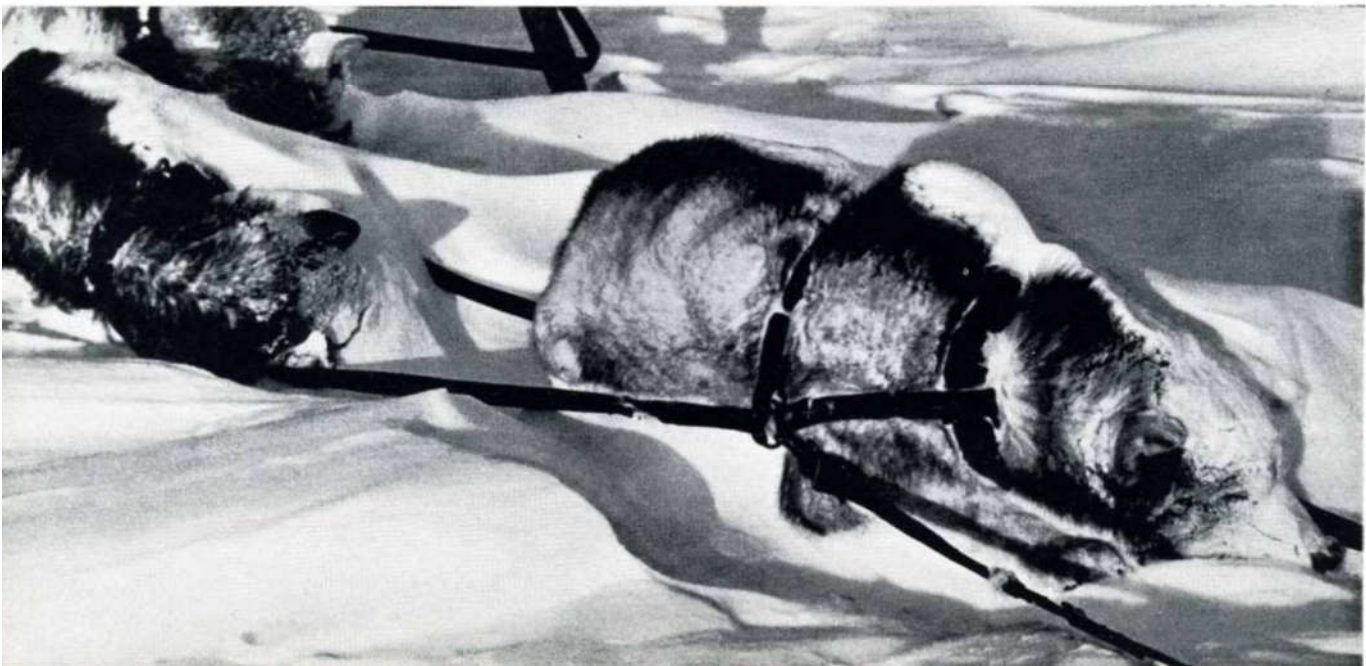
After the excitement of setting out calms down, the dogs assume their usual travelling pace, like the old mare's trot, five miles an hour, when the snow is in good condition. If not in working humour, they are soon called to order by the driver's whip.

You ask maybe how can it be that the driver gets obedient response from such a numerous pack of five to ten dogs. A good driver must always make himself felt as the master who will take no nonsense. He must be hard but not cruel, whipping soundly at the psychological moment, but never without reason; he must appreciate a journey well made, but never show preference to the detriment of the others, for dogs are very jealous and discerning animals. If he wins their affection he is a successful driver.

A young, docile, alert, sagacious husky is chosen from among the others and is trained to obey as a

The drifts have piled up against this team of dogs as they slept through a blizzard.

R. Harrington.





Good and faithful servant.

R. Harrington.

leader; the rest, like the voters of a party, follow him unerringly. If you have a good leader and he knows you are the master, you will succeed marvellously.

When they realize the moment for camping has arrived, for they know the time, they redouble their pace in order to win an earlier supper. They must be served first, if peace is to be had. Then it is that the canines fix devouring eyes upon their prey, yelp, howl, grind their teeth and quarrel. You in their place would do likewise, for they have had nothing to eat all day. In fact the four pounds of frozen fish

cast to them in the evening is the only food they get each day. Hence they snatch it in less time than it takes to distribute. Once satisfied, they lie down in a circle on the bed of branches prepared for them and sleep through the night.

Whether the mercury is thirty or forty below zero, the husky always sleeps that way in the open. The next morning, at the signal of departure, they are all fresh and will travel all day without giving any evidence of fatigue; if they ask for quarter it is only when they lie down in their last sleep.

ENGLISH RIVER CANOE TRIP

by Clifford Wilson

Photographs by
Richard Harrington

Loading up en route to the Wabigoon.

THE photographer put down his empty teacup and stretched out comfortably in the warm sun. "Think of those poor devils back in Hudson's Bay House," he said complacently, "toiling away in their air-conditioned offices."

Before us lay Indian Lake, calm and shimmering in the bright sunlight. Early that morning, we had left Grassy Narrows post, and other than two aircraft and four eagles, we had seen no sign of life nor human habitation. High overhead, a Norseman droned by, and soon was lost to sight behind the spruce-clad hill across the water—a passing reminder that, as the plane flies, we were only twenty minutes from civilization.

As we leaned back against a wall of rock, sipping our tea, life seemed wholly satisfactory, and I had to admit that this was just about the pleasantest bit of editing that had come my way. It had all started when a survey of the *Beaver* files had shown a regrettable lack of good canoe-country pictures. The obvious remedy was to send an able photographer, a man used to bush travel, into the right sort of country. And because he couldn't possibly go alone, I had been persuaded to accompany him—with what reluctance may be judged here.

We had left Winnipeg on a golden morning in mid-July, driven 150 miles through the picturesque countryside to Kenora, and there loaded our dunnage and

ourselves aboard a Norseman of the Ontario Central Airways. The registration letters CF-CPS seemed familiar . . . and then I remembered that this was the plane which had been lost near Coppermine in December 1945, and been found on Christmas Day. (*Beaver*, Dec. 1946.)

The fifteen-minute flight to the Hudson's Bay post at Grassy Narrows was a routine run. Soon the intricate shoreline of Lake of the Woods was left behind, and we were flying at 2,000 feet across a crazy quilt of dark green woods, grey rocks, light green muskeg and many-coloured lakes. Northern Ontario is often referred to as the Land o' Lakes, but until one sees it from above, it is impossible to realize how much of the "land" is really water. Even where you'd swear the ground was solid, the reflection of the sun often picks out the glint of water from a hidden stream.

Grassy Narrows post, our jumping off place for the canoe trip, consists of three buildings—dwelling, store and warehouse—in a clearing on a small island. We circled low over it while the photographer worked his Leica, then swooped down to a landing at the dock. Jim Allan, clerk of the post, was there to greet us, and grabbed for a strut as it came past.

Jim, when he heard our plans for the trip, politely suggested that we were crazy not to take along an outboard motor; but as we both regarded it as an invention of the devil and an abomination in the sight

of the Kichemanitou, we left it behind. Our dunnage was made up of our sleeping bags, a few extra clothes, fishing gear, grub for a few days travel (purchased at the post), and about \$1500 worth of Richard Harrington's camera equipment.

Bright and not too early the next morning, we paddled away for the Wabigoon, on a course that led through a maze of islands. As we hadn't a care in the world except where the next picture was coming from, we took our time, and that first day we made only about seventeen miles. The object of the trip was to take photos, a job that shouldn't be hurried. We wanted pictures of canoeing, portaging, camping, fishing, cooking, and even dish-washing—shots that could be planned with comparative ease. But the scenic shots we couldn't arrange for. We were looking for high rocky cliffs, pine clad points, calm rivers, tumultuous rapids, wide windy lakes, portage trails; tall pines, black against blue sky and white clouds, and tree-tufted islands with shores of smooth rock shelving off into clear green depths. What's more, we found them all. What a country!

So here we were off to a good start on the first day of the trip and heading for the narrow channel leading northeast out of Indian Lake. Here the English River remembered for a brief while to follow the straight and narrow way, as a river should, and not to go branching out all over the place, expanding into lakes and shrinking to narrow inlets. But after a while it had a relapse, and spread itself out into the glittering expanse of Ball Lake. Our canoe, however, was pointed for the mouth of the Wabigoon.

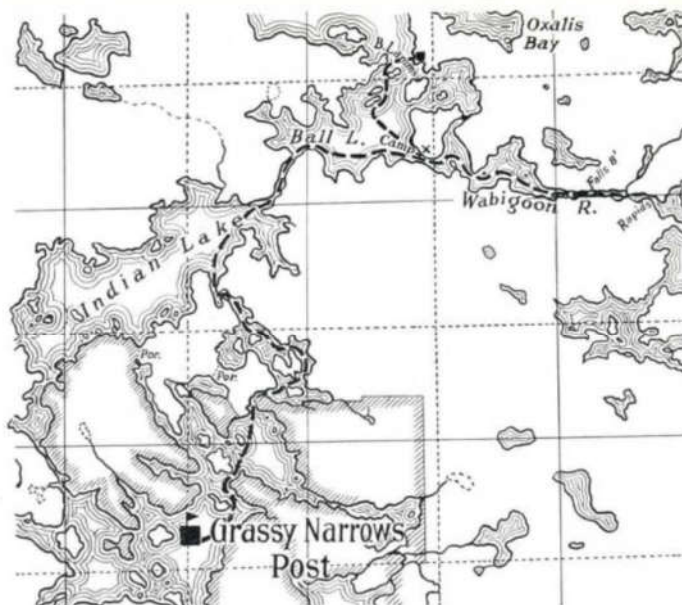
The breeze by now had dropped entirely, and the sun beat down on our bare backs. Just as it was becoming oppressive, we sighted a perfect swimming place, where a rocky cliff levelled off into a convenient shelf before disappearing into cool, deep water. We landed, stripped, and dived in. No preparations, no planning—and no bathing suits. It was completely spontaneous. We were hot, we needed to cool off, and we did so in the best possible way. Here again was the perfect freedom of the wilds that I had almost forgotten—the freedom that must always strike the city dweller on a bush vacation with fresh delight, no matter how often he comes back to it.

Fifteen minutes later we were heading eastward again for the Wabigoon. In a little while, borne on the rising breeze, we heard the low murmur of the first falls. Then, rounding a point, we saw them—a white, tossing line above the smooth surface of the river.

They proved to be most picturesque, making a wide semi-circular sweep before thundering down over a jumble of boulders into the river below. Here certainly was a place for pictures, and we spent about an hour taking them—portaging, shooting the fast water below the falls, and scenic shots. Then we took our stuff across the short steep portage and camped on a wooded point at the head of the falls.

Perhaps the most amazing part of the first day's trip was that we had seen no biting flies whatever. Not until the sun had set did a few sand flies come out to bother us. These same conditions persisted throughout the whole trip. In fact, except for the after-sundown sandflies, during our two nights at the falls, the only insect pests we saw during the whole of the ten days we were in the bush were four mosquitoes. The difference this meant to living and travelling in the woods can easily be imagined by those who know the Canadian bush in summer.

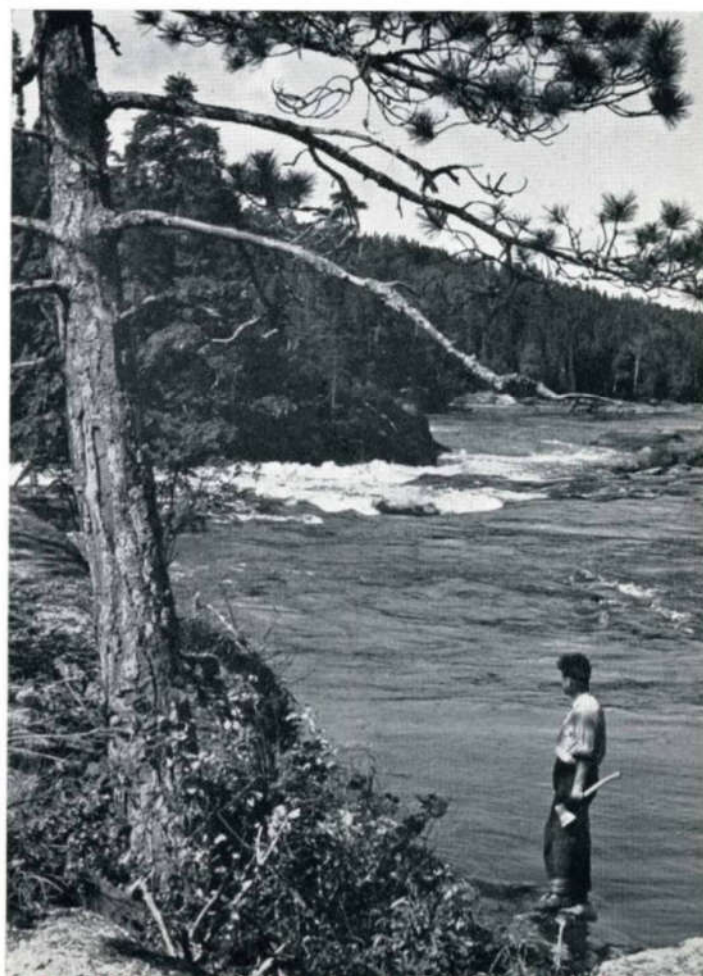
THE BEAVER, March 1949



The route from Grassy Narrows is shown by the broken line. The scale is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the inch.

The second day of our trip dawned clear, and promised to be a scorcher. Our first idea was to go some miles further upstream, to the rapids and beyond. But when we got to the rapids, we decided to stay there for the rest of the day. Here was a perfect spot for pictures. It was a lovely place, full of contrasts in mood and colour. The water was low, and the rapids therefore more turbulent than usual. Above and below the white water, the Wabigoon lay gleaming and quiescent, flanked by the evergreen walls of the forest. On one side of the river, where we made our fire, the rocks were smooth and flat, and not much higher

The photographer surveys the falls of the Wabigoon from above, where the main drop is hidden.





Two similar operations in the process of getting a meal—peeling bark off a birch, and skin off a fish (pickerel or wall-eyed pike).



than the water level. Across the water they rose sharply in a jagged cliff, crowned by tall trees. Out on the flat rocks the sun was hot; but under the white birches and jackpines there were cool shadows.

After Richard had given the place a thorough going over with his three cameras, we sat in the shade wishing that someone would come along and shoot the rapids. Since leaving Grassy Narrows we had seen not a solitary soul, and the hope that someone would come down the Wabigoon on that very day, with nerve (or inexperience) enough to try the rapids, was faint indeed.

But the gods were with us. Round the nearest point upstream came two canoes, each with two American college students. They had come all the way from Milwaukee, driving as far as Quibell, where they had put their canoes in the water. The successful shooting of a few rapids had given them confidence. They were willing to try again!

At first they thought they would carry their loads across the short easy portage and run the rapids light.

"Tree-tufted islands with shores of smooth rock shelving off into clear green depths."





"The first pair came sweeping down . . ."

But then, throwing caution aside, they decided to take them straight. After choosing their course, the first pair came sweeping down—fondly imagining they could make a 45° turn in the middle of the rapids between two rocks. A moment later they discovered they couldn't. They hit the downstream rock a little forward of amidships, and the fast water, catching their stern, swung them around, end for end. Fortunately, their stern just missed another rock, and they simply finished up going down backwards, losing nothing more than a paddle.

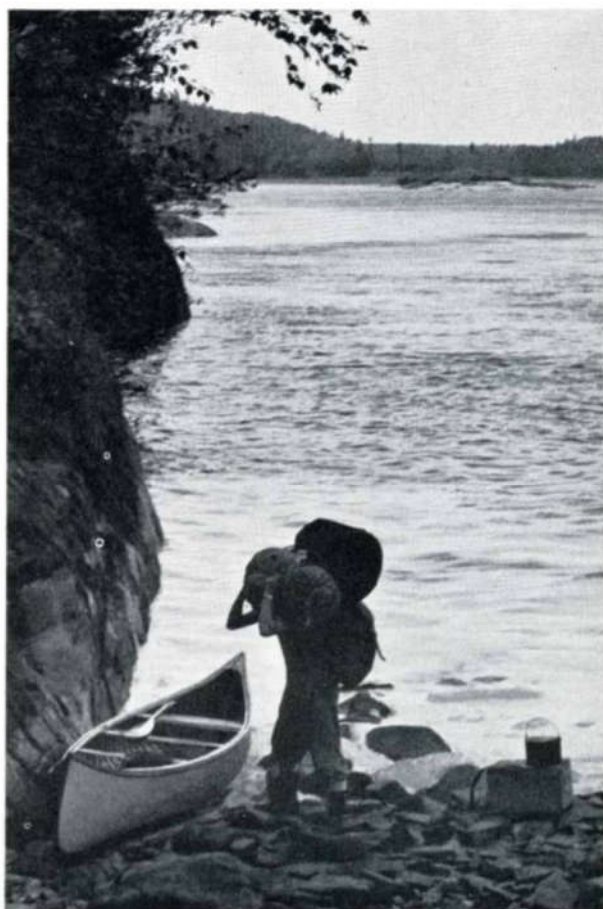
The second pair soon followed, and in trying to avoid the rock their friends had hit, plunged into deep water and got partly swamped. They were quite cheerful about it, however, for even though they got their dunnage soaked and had to unload it after all, at least they hadn't had to carry it across two chains of portage! They paddled on their way rejoicing, and with those pictures in the cameras, we did some rejoicing on our own. We might have waited there for weeks for someone to shoot those rapids, in the sunlight, with a red canoe.

On the way back to camp, we saw something moving in the rushes along the shore, and discovered that it was a buck deer. The wind was in our favour, and we managed to get close before he saw us and bounded away up the hill. Then, as so often happens, it turned out that he had gone only a little way into the woods, for we saw him again as we paddled away—antlered head high and ears forward—peering at us from the shelter of the forest.

That night we were wakened by the sharp patter of rain on the tent roof, and it was still raining when we woke in the light of morning. As we hadn't raincoats of any sort, one of us used the waterproof that nature had provided and went shivering out to get the grub box. Before long the sky cleared, and we emerged to build a fire and make some tea.

Just as we got the fire going, we heard a light footstep at the portage end not twenty yards away, and

"We portaged our stuff to the foot of the falls."





"One side of the tent was concave, the other convex."

looked up to see a most charming picture—a doe and her fawn drinking side by side from the river. Richard started to steal towards the tent to get his camera; but the doe caught the movement out of the corner of her eye, and in a flash they turned and went bounding up the hill into the bush.

After lunch we struck camp and portaged our stuff through the woods to the foot of the falls, then set out downstream for Ball Lake. At the last narrows we found a perfect campsite—or so it would have been in normal weather. It stood high above the water, looking out across the gleaming expanse of the

lake, with plenty of firewood near at hand, a soft, dry level spot for the tent, and a sand-beach below.

We had hardly got the tent up and had a cup of tea when it started to rain. The wind had been blowing from the east, and we were well protected on that quarter. But gradually it freshened and swung round until it was blowing straight off the lake. Before long it had reached half-gale strength, and as it increased in fury, so did the rain. We lashed the guy ropes more firmly to strategically placed trees and rocks, crawled inside the tent with the grub, double tied the door, and hoped for the best.

Darkness came, but there was no let-up in the weather—rather the reverse. Now the rain started to come down in sheets, and our little tent, strained and buffeted by the gale, started to leak at the seams. We were probably on the most exposed spot in all the lake, for the wind, driving down the whole length of it, came roaring up the sloping rock on which we were camped and struck our tent with the full fury of its three-mile sweep.

Despite the taut, wet guy ropes, one side of the tent was concave, the other convex. Its only upright support was a pole in the doorway, and we took turns holding this in case it should be blown down. Another hazard was a large jackpine leaning right over the tent, with roots partly torn loose by the prevailing west wind. With each fresh gust, it creaked ominously; but there was nothing we could do about it, so we just lay there in the dark, trying to avoid the pools of water collecting in the hollows of the tent floor, and telling each other that a gale of such strength, and rain of such volume, couldn't possibly last much longer.

Some of the individual cabins at Barney Lamm's Camp on the shore of Ball Lake.



But they did. When morning came, the wind was still howling through the trees, and the tent was still bellying like a well filled sail. But the rain was coming only fitfully, and we crawled out to view an angrily tossing landscape. Ball Lake, as far as we could see, was white with waves and flying spume, and the trees were swishing and swaying in the blast. To try and make Barney Lamm's camp under such conditions would have been hopeless, so we decided to stay put for another day if necessary. And it was necessary. During the day the force of the wind actually increased, and in the afternoon we moved our camp into the shelter of the woods. An Indian told us later that he had tried to leave Grassy Narrows post that day in his big outboard-motor canoe, but for the first time in his life the wind had turned him back.

The lake was still rough next morning, but the wind had dropped a bit. Glad to get going again, we packed up and paddled along the shore till we came to the main body of the lake. Then, heading diagonally into the waves, we paddled for the shelter of a high wooded island, and soon the red roofs of Barney Lamm's camp showed through the distant trees.

Barney's camp is perfectly located, and beautifully built of peeled logs by Scandinavian workmen. It consists mainly of several individual guest cabins and one large building, housing lounge, dining room and kitchen. The decor is definitely woodsy, but not uncomfortably so. From the camp you look out through a screen of stately Norway pines, over a wide sand beach and across three miles of lake. Barney himself, a young and able American Air Force veteran, took us out in one of his power boats for fishing pictures. His young wife and a friend from Kenora came along. For picture purposes, the friend pretended to fish—pretended, because he had brought no bait along. So he tore a piece of yellow paper off one of Richard's film boxes and baited his hook with that. When he hauled in his line, the paper was gone and in its place was a two-foot pickerel. Again he pretended, this time with a bit of red cloth, and got two strikes and two more fish. What he could have done with real bait, we were left to imagine.

In the afternoon the wind freshened again, and knowing we had a long way to go, we accepted the tow that Barney offered to provide. Bill Hyacinth, an Indian war veteran, took us as far as the channel leading out of Indian Lake. He was a local man, but had joined the army and seen the world, notably Britain, France and Italy. "Gibraltar," he observed, quite casually, as we passed a high solitary rock sticking up out of the water.

When we saw the angry waves in Indian Lake, which had been so glassy smooth four days before, we were doubly glad of the tow. Bill swung the bow back and forth so as to ship as little water as possible, and finally entered a narrow pass on the route by which we had come. There he unhitched the canoe, and then chattered away for home, while we loaded up and started off with a fair wind for Grassy Narrows post.

We knew we could never get there in time for supper, so we decided to finish off the remnants of our grub whenever we found a good spot for it. And we found a very good spot. It was sheltered from the wind, and the westering sun made it pleasantly warm. There was a nice flat rock by the water's edge, and a rocky wall to lean against. Our meal consisted only of half a tin of fried Klik, pilot biscuits, apricots stewed without sugar, and the indispensable tea. But as



Fisherman from Illinois.

we sat there in the sunshine, comfortably propped against the rock, we thought of our friends dining sumptuously at the Fort Garry, or the Café Martin, or the Royal York—and actually pitied them!

The first part of our trip was nearly over, but we were almost sorry to return to the luxuries of the post and its contacts with the outer world which, at that moment, seemed a thousand miles away. Other than the American boys at the rapids, and the people at Barney's, we had seen nobody, and only the occasional aircraft humming overhead had reminded us how accessible that canoe country really was. Chief among the impressions we were taking back was the sense of perfect freedom that is inseparable from bush life. Time meant nothing. We ate, or swam, or camped, or stopped for pictures, whenever we wanted to; and there were no conventions or schedules to be observed.

Reluctantly we got our stuff together for the last time and loaded it into the canoe. It seemed incredible that we had been out less than five days from the post. We still had a few miles to go, and the sun was setting behind the jagged skyline of spruce as we entered the home stretch. Presently the silhouette of the post wharf appeared jutting out from one of the islands, outlined sharply against the rippling reflection of the sunset. A man and a dog walked out to the end of it, and Jim's voice came clearly over the water, welcoming us back. Soon our bow was thrusting aside the tall reeds in the shallows and scraping to a stop on the sandy beach.

"There was a nice flat rock by the water's edge, and a rocky wall to lean against." And after three cups tea, the photographer is at peace with the world.



EXPEDITIONS to the ARCTIC

Part I of an article listing the various expeditions to the Canadian Arctic from 1000 to 1918 A.D.

by P. D. Baird

THE far northern reaches of Canada's territory are still among the least known regions on the Earth. Even in 1948, in the same latitude as Narvik, an island 5000 square miles in size has been newly found. And further north, as planes continue to criss-cross the northern islands, new straits and bays unsuspected for a hundred years are being added to the map. Less than four hundred years have elapsed since this map started to take shape, and it seems worth while to list the major expeditions of discovery for the sake of those who wish to follow the historical record in more careful detail, and as a ready reference for those interested in certain voyages or localities.

Accordingly, in this article and in succeeding instalments an attempt has been made to give the barest facts of discovery in a way that can be easily used for reference. The territory covered includes Hudson Bay and Strait and the Northwest Territories generally. It must be remembered that in the two important transport routes of the Bay itself and of the Mackenzie River basin a great mass of detail has been filled in by many traders and travellers who are not mentioned in this brief story.

Similarly, for the present task my story ends in 1918, for since the first Great War the character of exploration has changed from major voyages of discovery to small groups or individuals filling in details or engaged on purely scientific problems to which geographical discovery is incidental.

Key to Expedition list

Date. Leader of expedition (in capitals). Other important members of party. Names of vessels (if sea-borne) in italics.

O.—Objects of expedition.

R.—Results and important discoveries.

P.—Publications describing the expedition.

Certain general descriptive publications are given numbers only and are listed below here.

1. Hakluyt, R., *The Principall Navigations . . . of the English Nation*, edition of 1927. J. M. Dent.

2. Purchas, S., *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*. London, 1625, and Glasgow, 1906.

3. Christy, Miller, *The voyages of . . . Foze . . . and James . . . and earlier voyages*. Hakluyt Soc. London, 1894.

4. Barrow, John, *History of Arctic Voyages*. London, 1818.

5. Rundall, T., *Narratives of Voyages towards the Northwest 1496-1631*. Hakluyt Soc., London, 1849.

6. Tyrrell, J. B., *Report on Doobaunt, Kazan & Ferguson Rivers . . . Geol. Survey of Canada Annual Report*, Vol. IX, 1896.

1. 1004—KARLSEFNI.

Believed to have landed on Baffin Id. (Helluland) on his voyage to America which followed its discovery further south by Leif Eriksson. Other Norse explorers followed Karlsefni to "Vinland" and one party appears to have penetrated to Minnesota in the 14th Century but the records of their voyages cannot generally be accurately related to present geography. P.—Steffansson, V. *Great Adventures and Explorations*, N.Y. 1947.

2. 1576—FROBISHER, M. (first voyage). Christopher Hall, master of *Gabriel*, in *Gabriel and Michael* (each 20-30 tons).

O.—To discover North West passage (financed by England's Muscovy Company).

R.—The *Michael* having returned home, Frobisher entered his "Straits," now Frobisher Bay, 11 Aug. 1576. After skirmishes with Eskimo in which 5 of his men were captured he sailed for home 26 Aug.

P.—(1), Vol. V p. 131-137; and (5).

3. 1577—FROBISHER, M. (second voyage). C. Hall, George Best, E. Fenton, G. Yorke, in H.M.S. *Aide* (180 tons) *Gabriel and Michael*.

O.—To mine gold in Frobisher Bay believed to have been found on first voyage. Now supported by Queen Elizabeth.

R.—Entered "Straits" 19 July 1577. Further fights with Eskimo—no sign of men captured last year. Claimed land for Queen Elizabeth, sailed with "ore" 24 Aug.

P.—(1), Vol. V p. 137-154, account by D. Settle, also pp. 199-228; and (5).

4. 1578—FROBISHER, M. (third voyage). C. Hall, E., Fenton, G. Yorke, A. Dier, in *Aide, Gabriel, Michael*, and 12 other ships.

O.—To establish winter quarters on Frobisher's "Straits" or Meta Incognita, mine gold and continue N.W. passage search.

R.—At entrance of Strait in July a great storm sank one vessel containing part of pre-fab. house and much provision. A small house was built on Warwick Id. but the projected wintering party of 100 men was not left, and laden with ore—proven worthless on return—the whole fleet sailed for home end Aug. 1578.

P.—(1), Vol. V p. 154-165, account by T. Ellis, also p. 228-270; Stefansson, V., *The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher*, London, 1938, and (5).

5. 1585—DAVIS, John (first voyage), *Moonshine* (35 tons); *Sunshine* (50-60 tons).

O.—Sent out by a new company for northern search.

R.—After coasting Greenland to latitude of Godthaab crossed to C. Dier, 6 Aug. and explored Cumberland Sound.

P.—(2), (3), (5), and Markham, C. R., *The voyages and works of J. Davis*. The Hakluyt Soc., London, 1878.

6. 1586—DAVIS, John (second voyage). *Mermaide* (100-120 tons), *Moonshine, Sunshine* and *North Star* (10 tons).

O.—As on first voyage.

R.—Two vessels were sent northward to E. Greenland, another early forsook him but in *Moonshine* Davis coasted American shore from 67° N. to 54½° N. Here 2 men were killed by Labrador Eskimos so he returned home end Sep. '86.

P.—Davis, J., *Account of second voyage . . .* London, 1595; and (5).

7. 1587—DAVIS, John (third voyage). *Helen, Elizabeth, Sunshine*.

O.—As on first voyage.

R.—After visiting his old harbourage in W. Greenland he attained lat. 73 on the Greenland coast before crossing to C. Dier (20 July) and headed south again naming C. Chidley and returning from the Labrador coast.

P.—Janes, J. (?) Davis, J., *The Worlds Hydrographical Description*, 1595, appears in Woodfalls Hakluyt, 1811; and (5).

8. 1602—WEYMOUTH, Capt. Geo. *Discovery* (55 tons) and *Godspeed*.
O.—Sent out by E. India company to search for North West Passage.
R.—Reaching Baffin Island in lat. 64 (28 June), sailed north to allegedly 69° before a mutiny led by the padre forced him to turn south. In late July sailed a considerable way up Hudson Strait. Reached England 5 Aug.
P.—(2) and (5).
9. 1610-11—HUDSON, Henry. R. Bylot, A. Prickett, in *Discovery*.
O.—Sent on his fourth known voyage by three private sponsors, Smith, Digges and Wolstenholme, to search for a N.W. Passage "through any of those inlets which Davis saw."
R.—Sailed London 17 Apr. 1610 and entered Hudson Bay 21 July. Other fisherman may have preceded him here but this is the first certain arrival. Following east side of Bay he was frozen in on James Bay 12 Nov. 1610. On sailing again June 1611 mutiny broke out, Hudson and others were set adrift in a boat, and *Discovery* was brought home by the starving mutineers, the ringleaders being killed by Eskimo in Hudson Strait.
P.—(2), account by A. Prickett, (5), and Asher, G. M., *Henry Hudson, the Navigator*. Hakluyt Soc., 1860.
10. 1612-13—BUTTON, Thos., R. Bylot, A. Prickett, Nelson (master of *Resolution*), in *Discovery* and *Resolution*.
O.—As with Hudson, Button's instructions curiously contain no reference to a search for Hudson, who conceivably was surviving in James Bay. Two of the mates of the previous expedition were carried, evidently cleared of culpability in the mutiny.
R.—After passing through Hudson Strait he discovered Coates Island and reached the west coast of the Bay in latitude 60° 40'. Sailing south he wintered at Port Nelson. Sailing again in June 1613 he appears to have reached lat. 65 in Roe's Welcome. Mansel Island was discovered on return voyage.
P.—No original known. Account in *North-West Fox* (see voyage 14). Also in (5).
11. 1615—BYLOT, Robert. W. Baffin, pilot. Total personnel 16, in *Discovery*.
O.—Sent out by same backers, now including Alderman Jones.
R.—Reached and landed on Resolution I. 1 June discovered Mill Island and, after another landing on Baffin Id., pushed on to C. Comfort on Southampton

Jens Munck's "Vinter Havn" of 1619-20. The port of Churchill, Manitoba, now occupies the point on the right.



- Id., 13 July. Due to increasing ice turned back from here via Sea Horse Pt. and Nottingham I. Left Hudson Strait 5 Aug.
P.—(2), Account by Baffin; and (5).
12. 1616—BAFFIN, William. R. Bylot master, but Baffin the pilot received the instructions, and he stands out as the great navigator of this age. In *Discovery*.
O.—As previous voyage.
R.—Coasting up W. Greenland they passed Davis' furthest on 30 May, reached Smith Sound 5 July, Jones Sound 10th, (a landing made) Lancaster Sound 12 July. From here southward there was still fast ice on Baffin Island until lat. 68. On reaching Cumberland Sound they bore off for England after the most sensational voyage of the century.
P.—(2), (5), and Markham, C.R.; *Voyages of Wm. Baffin*, London, Hakluyt Soc., 1881.
13. 1619-20—MUNCK, Capt. Jens. *Unicorn* and *Lamprey*.
O.—Sent out by Danish King to search for North West Passage.
R.—Reaching the west coast of Hudson Bay at 63° 20' he turned south and, caught by a very early winter, harboured in Churchill River. Here 60 men died of scurvy leaving only Munck and two others to sail *Lamprey* home.
P.—Munck, J., *Navigatio Septentrionalis*, Copenhagen, 1624.
14. 1631—FOX, Capt. Luke. *Charles* (70 tons).
O.—Foxe's own petitions for N.W. Passage search brought Royal approval and London Merchants' backing.
R.—Entering Hudson Strait 20 June he pushed across to the west coast of the Bay at Roe's Welcome, then coasted south meeting and passing James south east of Port Nelson 29 Aug. Bearing north again he discovered the S. W. corner of Baffin Island but his error in latitude of C. Dorchester persisted till 1928. He set out for home 25 Sept.
P.—Foxe, L., *North-West Fox*, London, 1635; republished by Hakluyt Society, London, 1894.
15. 1631-32—JAMES, Capt. Thos. *Maria* (70 tons).
O.—Outfitted by Bristol merchants in rivalry with Foxe.
R.—Entering Hudson Strait much the same time as Foxe he headed S.W. in the Bay with much difficulty as he seems to have been no seaman. He reached Charlton Island 2 Oct. and there wintered miserably. Sailing again 2 July '32, he reached Nottingham Island in late Aug. and forthwith returned to Bristol.
P.—James, T., *Strange and Dangerous Voyage* 1633, second ed. 1740; repub. J. M. Dent, 1928, R. B. Bodilly, ed.; also (3).
16. 1668-69—GILLAM, Capt. Z. and M. des Groseillers, in *Nonsuch* (43 tons).
O.—Sent out by Prince Rupert and the as yet unchartered Hudson's Bay Co. to establish a fur trade post on Hudson Bay.
R.—Reached Resolution Island 5 Aug. and Rupert's River 29 Sep., where a house, Charles Ft., was built. After a successful winter's fur trade returned to England Oct. 1669.
P.—Seller, J., *The English Pilot*, London 1675. Nute, G. L., *Caesars of the Wilderness*, N.Y., Appletons, 1943.
17. 1719-21—KNIGHT, James. *Albany*, *Discovery*.
O.—Sent out by H B C after years of his own pleading (by now at age of 80) to discover "Anian Strait" and minerals to the north of Churchill.
R.—All hands appear to have perished by degrees at Marble Island despite contact with Eskimos who told the story to Hearne in 1769. The last man died in 1721 (?).
P.—Kenney, J. F., *The Founding of Churchill*, Toronto, J. M. Dent, 1932. Hearne, S. (see exped. 21).
18. 1741-42—MIDDLETON, Capt. C. Capt. Wm. Moore, J. Rankin (Lieut.) in H.M.S. *Furnace* and *Discovery*.
O.—To find a passage at the N.W. angle of Hudson Bay. Sent out by Admiralty at Arthur Dobbs' suggestion.
R.—Although reaching Churchill from England early Aug. 1741 the expedition wintered there near the new fort and started north 1 July '42. They entered Wager "River" (Bay) 14 July but found the head still frozen. Then reached Repulse Bay early Aug. but turned back by ice in Frozen Strait, and returned home.

- P.—Middleton, C. A., *Vindication of the conduct* . . . London, 1743. Dobbs, A., *An Account of the countries adjoining Hudson's Bay*, London, 1744; also other charges and countercharges by the above.
19. 1746-47—MOORE, Capt. Wm. Capt. F. Smith, H. Ellis in *Dobbs* (180 tons) and *California* (140).
O.—Dobbs had accused Middleton of neglect and, the Government having offered a £20,000 reward for the passage, a subscription company was formed for further search.
R.—Reaching the west coast of the Bay in lat. 64 they turned south and wintered near York Factory. Starting north 24 June '47 they first explored the head of Wager Bay but turned back in early August from near Repulse Bay.
P.—Ellis, H. *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay* . . . London, 1748. (C. Swaine) "Clerk of the *California*," *An account of a voyage for the discovery of a N.W. passage* . . . London 1748.
20. 1761—CHRISTOPHER, Capt. *Churchill* (sloop).
O.—To examine more closely Chesterfield Inlet, only remaining hope of a low latitude N.W. passage.
R.—Ascended inlet for 100 miles till water became almost fresh and returned to Churchill.
P.—(6).
21. 1762—CHRISTOPHER, Capt., and ? Norton, in *Churchill* (sloop).
O.—As year before.
R.—This time reached Baker Lake and its head where the Thelon empties.
P.—(6).
22. 1769-72—HEARNE, Samuel. Overland with Indians.
O.—Sent by Hudson's Bay Co. to discover "Mines of Copper."
R.—After two unsuccessful starts from Churchill Nov-Dec 1769, Feb-Nov 1770, he journeyed, again wandering with rather uncontrollable Indian bands, on his third attempt Dec. 1770 via Artillery, Aylmer & Contwoyto lakes to mouth of Coppermine River July 1771 where his Indians massacred a settlement of Eskimo. Hearne's position of the mouth by dead reckoning was much in error but his descriptions were confirmed by Franklin 50 years later. He returned by approximately the same route to Churchill 30 June

1772, crossing Gt. Slave. L. enroute. He saw some veins of copper but no subsequent action was taken.
P.—Hearne, S., *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Northern Ocean*, London 1795, Dublin 1796; new edition by J. B. Tyrrell, the Champlain Soc. 1911.

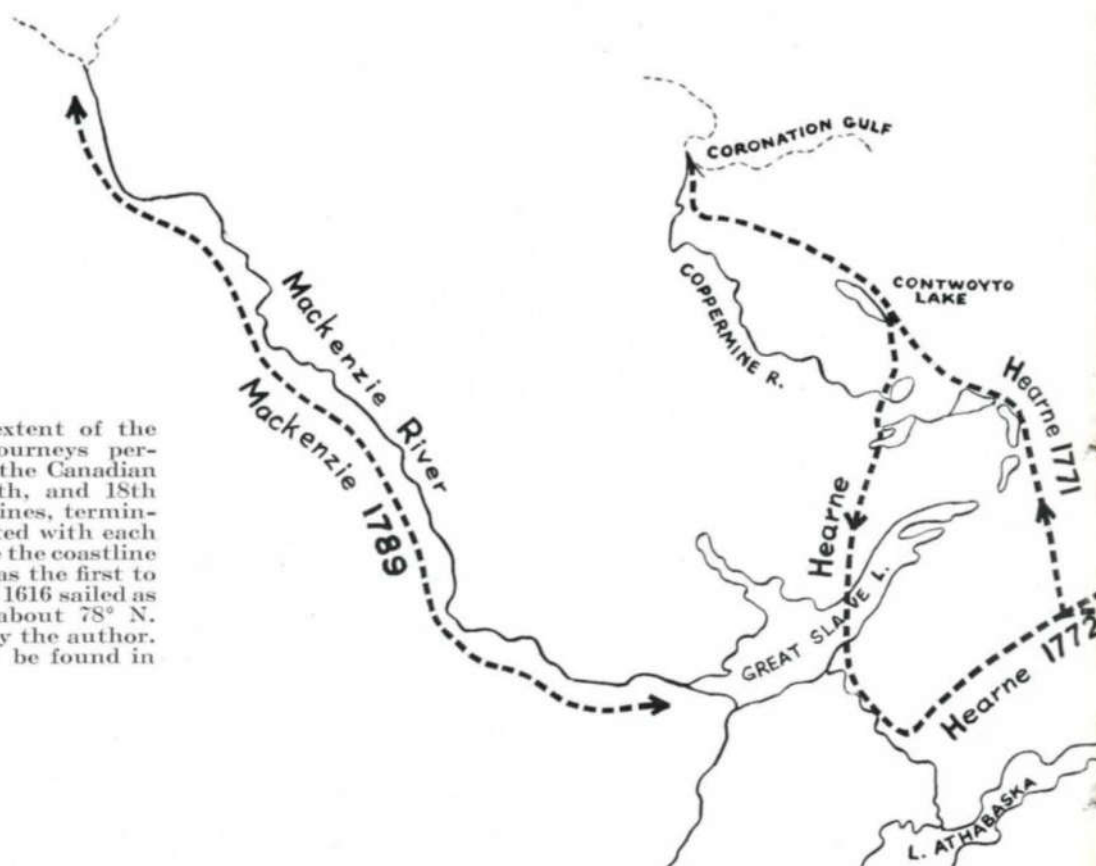
23. 1789—MACKENZIE, Alex. By canoe with voyageurs and Indians.
O.—To trace the great river which he as an official of the Northwest Company had heard flowed northward from Great Slave Lake.
R.—Leaving Ft. Chipewyan 3 June 1789 he started down the Mackenzie River 29 June and reached the sea at Whale Island 12th July; return proved more difficult and he did not reach settlement until mid-Sep. '89.
P.—Mackenzie, A., *Voyages from Montreal to the Frozen & Pacific Oceans*, London 1801, and subsequent editions.
24. 1792-93—DUNCAN, Capt. C. *Beaver* (84 tons).
O.—To examine on behalf of H B C some remaining inlets on west coast of Hudson Bay.
R.—In 1792 examined Corbett Inlet. In 1793 after wintering at Churchill penetrated Chesterfield Inlet to head of Baker Lake and 30 miles up the Thelon River.
P.—Goldson, W., *Observations on the passage between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans*, Portsea 1793; also (6).

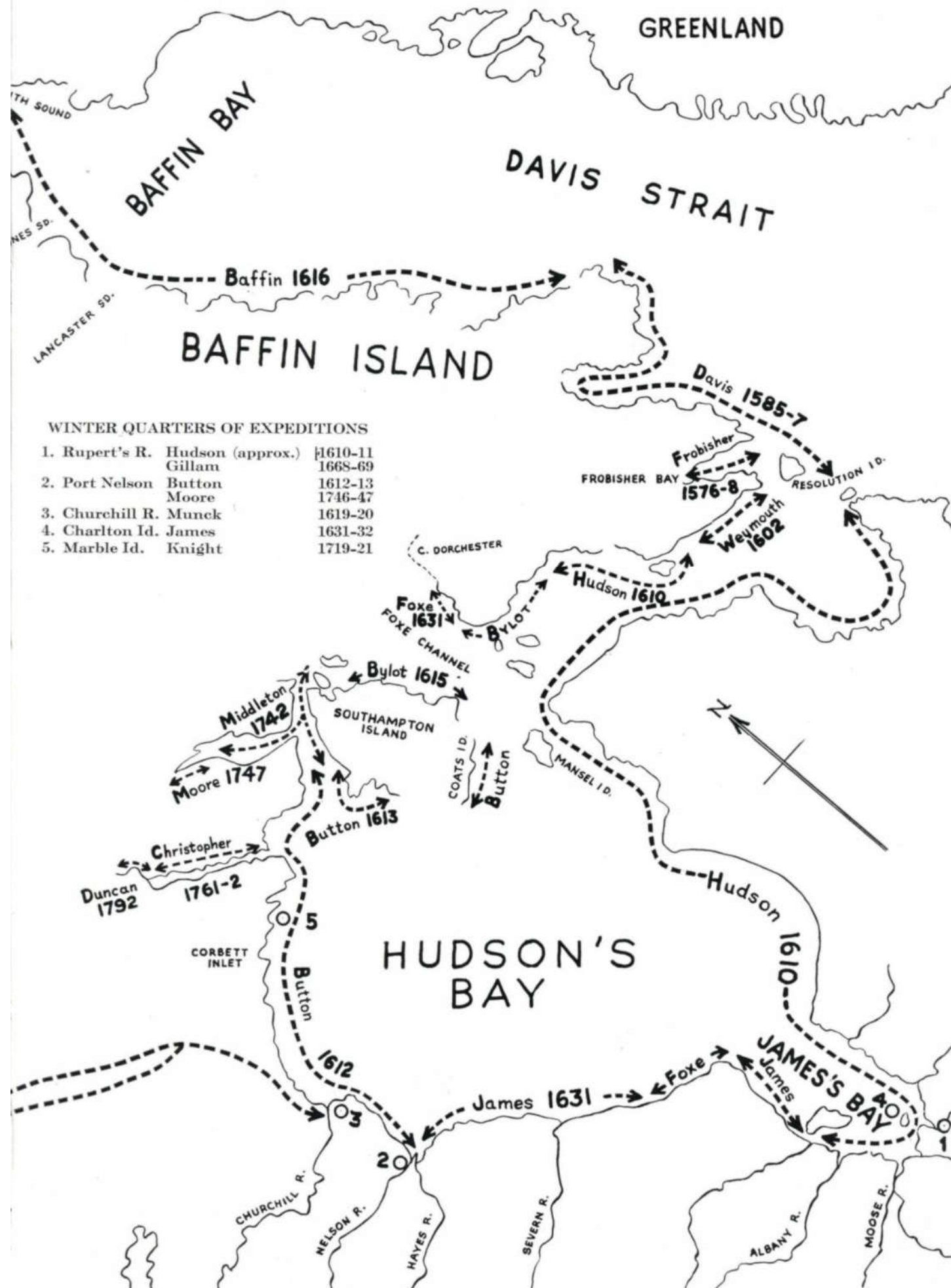
These first twenty-four expeditions constitute an initial period of exploration characterized by great vigour in the first 55 (Elizabethan) years and much less vigour in the succeeding 185. Meanwhile the Hudson's Bay Company had been founded, regular voyages were made into the bay and naval battles fought there; but exploration to the northward languished, save for the brief, brilliant sorties of Hearne and Mackenzie.

With the end of the Napoleonic wars, what might be termed the Golden Age of exploration of our region began, sparked by the British admiralty and particularly by its secretary, Sir John Barrow. In thirty years these sailors laid the foundations of our geographical knowledge of the northern coast of the continent.

The next instalment will deal with their expeditions.

This map shows the extent of the voyages and inland journeys performed by explorers of the Canadian Arctic in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The broken lines, terminated by arrows, associated with each explorer's name indicate the coastline or territory which he was the first to see. Note that Baffin in 1616 sailed as far as Smith Sound, about 78° N. From a map prepared by the author. More exact details will be found in the text.







Historic Find

A short time ago an old pocket chronometer was presented to the Hudson's Bay Company museum by Mrs. E. Rickards of Abbots Ann, Hampshire, daughter of A. G. Dallas who was governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land in succession to Sir George Simpson. Mrs. Rickards said she always understood that the watch in its mahogany case had belonged to Sir John Franklin, and that it had been found in a hut up north.

This all sounded very intriguing, so we wrote to England, asking if they had any record of a chronometer, No. 516, made by James Murray at the Royal Exchange in 1822-3. Just before going to press, we had a letter from Sir Harold Spencer Jones, Astronomer Royal at the Royal Greenwich Observatory, containing a short history of the old timepiece. And from this it is plain that the Franklin connection is only part of its long and highly interesting story.

Franklin used it on his second Arctic Expedition of 1825-7. It was the practice of the British Admiralty to buy chronometers and issue them for use in naval ships, dockyards, etc., and this one had been loaned to Capt. Franklin for his expedition via New York to the mouth of the Mackenzie and west along the coast of what is now Alaska. After his return it was issued to H.M. Ships *Shannon* (1828) *Fairy* and *Phoenix* (1832); then in 1837 to the Devonport Dockyard.

When in 1848 there was still no word of Franklin's third and last Arctic expedition, on which he had set out three years before, the Admiralty sent Sir John Richardson, M.D. (who had accompanied Franklin on his second expedition) to search for him. Richardson relates how he took with him four pocket chronometers, one of which "had been used on the several expeditions of Sir W. E. Parry and Sir John Ross." But he does not mention that another of them had been used by Franklin himself. Richardson received his instructions from the Admiralty on March 16, 1848, and the chronometer six days later. On this expedition he was accompanied by Dr. John Rae. They went by the route of 1825, via New York and Montreal, to the mouth of the Mackenzie and eastwards along the coast to the Coppermine, thence overland to Fort Confidence on Great Bear Lake, where they wintered. (This was the route by which Richardson had travelled in 1825-6.) Next spring Richardson set off for New York, leaving Rae to carry on the search via the Coppermine, and it is quite possible that Rae took the chronometer with him on this occasion.

It was not reissued by the Admiralty until May 1853, when it was loaned to H.M.S. *Phoenix* again. Next year, Rae discovered the first relics of the lost Franklin expedition, and learned from some Eskimos that some of the men had been seen near the mouth of Back's River. As soon as this intelligence reached England, the Admiralty asked the Company to send an expedition to that spot, and in November the now historic chronometer was issued to the H.B.C., to be used by the search party. It was then sent to Chief Factor James Anderson, in command of the expedition which travelled from the Mackenzie across to Back's River, descending it to its mouth.

A few Franklin relics were found there, but nothing of great importance. And somewhere on Back's River, according to an entry in the Admiralty ledger, the Murray chronometer was lost.

How it came into the possession of Governor Dallas is still a mystery. In the wooden case there is a note in his writing, to the effect that it had been used by Franklin during a journey to the Polar Sea, but nothing else to throw light on its subsequent history. Mrs. Rickards says that her father kept it on his bedside table, and wound it every night. But the day he died, "the mainspring went off with a whirr."

Now this historic old timepiece, so inseparably linked with the story of Arctic exploration, is on view with other Franklin relics in the Company museum at Winnipeg.



Buffalo Bill (for damages)

Anyone who thinks the days of the wild buffalo herds are over should talk to Bill Stewart, of the Company's Land Department—or to the insurance adjuster who paid the bill for damages done to his car. Seems that last fall, Bill was driving along a road in Alberta's Elk Island Park, where several hundred buffalo still roam the restricted range. It was at dusk, and the headlights were on, when a small herd of the shaggy brutes started to cross the road ahead of the car.

Bill, who used to drive through Wainwright Park in the days of its glory, knew enough to stop and let them go by. But one young bull, disappointed in love,

perhaps, and certainly rarin' to pick a fight, took umbrage at the black machine with the glaring eyes. Suddenly he wheeled and came charging down the road, at a speed that was amazing. The helpless driver could only sit and watch him, while the beast hurled himself at the car. Scoring a perfect "bull's eye" on the right headlight, he smashed in the radiator grille and hood and came hurtling over the fender to land, stunned and shaken, on his back. He lay there with his feet in the air for a few moments. Then he got slowly to his feet, shook himself, and staggered off to rejoin the herd, a sadder and a wiser bull.

Mr. Stewart shortly presented his claim to an incredulous insurance agent, resisting the temptation to answer such questions as "What signals given?" And under "Rate of speed of object collided with," he merely put "?". Cost of repairs was \$65.



Anniversaries

Anniversaries always call for festivities, from the small family gathering to the continent-wide celebration. Basically their purpose is to recall some important event which occurred a certain number of years before. But they possess a value far beyond the mere commemoration of an incident, for they all serve to bolster national, regional, and local pride.

1948 was a good anniversary year. One of the celebrations planned in Canada was the centenary of Forts Hope and Yale, on the Fraser River; and although the Fraser floods played hob with the plans, the energetic committees did carry out most of them. In the States, of course, there were the big state celebrations marking the centennials of Oregon and California Territories, and of Wisconsin's admission as a state of the union.

This year sees, amongst other anniversaries, the Minnesota territorial centenary and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the incorporation of Winnipeg. Actually, Winnipeg was incorporated in November 1873; but for various reasons it was decided to stage the celebrations in the summer of 1949. The first meeting of the city council did not take place until January 19, 1874, and it was suggested that this might be a good peg on which to hang the festivities, staging a winter carnival in honour of the event. But when January came along with its well-below-zero temperatures (Jan. 19 was 34° below) everyone was happy that the carnival idea had been dropped. Now plans call for a week-long celebration starting on June 5 and ending on the 11th. The June *Beaver* will carry special articles on the subject.

In Minnesota, celebrations of one kind or another will be carried on throughout the year, to mark the territorial centenary. Headquarters have been set up in the Minnesota Historical Society building at St. Paul, where the whole state-wide program is being directed by Dean J. M. Nolte and a competent staff. County committees have been set up to direct local events, and a three-cent commemorative stamp will be issued on March 3, the actual day in 1849 on which Minnesota was proclaimed a Territory of the U.S.A.

"Honourable Company"

Ever since Douglas MacKay's *The Honourable Company* went out of print some years ago, no history of the Hudson's Bay Company has been available to the public except through libraries. Second hand book stores have offered an occasional copy for sale, but generally at the advanced prices one expects to pay for rarities. Now students of western and fur trade history will be delighted to know that this valuable work is shortly to be republished.

The new edition will extend the story to 1949, and also incorporate research material published since the first edition of 1936. The intervening years brought forth a wealth of source books: A. S. Morton's *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, covering the Company's first two centuries; *Caesars of the Wilderness* by Grace Lee Nute, which is probably the last word on Groseilliers and Radisson; and all the volumes of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. *The Honourable Company* has benefitted from these, and in addition any known errors occurring in the original work have been corrected.

Edited and brought up to date by Mrs. Douglas MacKay, the new volume is being published by McClelland & Stewart, of Toronto, and should be ready for release about mid-April.

Escabitchewan

On the northern waterways, you never can tell when you're going to run across the site of an old fur trade post. As the last form of this *Beaver* was about ready to be locked up, we discovered that two old posts once stood on the shores of Ball Lake, referred to on pages 42 and 43. A French trader, Burdigno, appears to have built a post there about 1730, the ruins of which were discovered in 1792 by James Sutherland, then in charge of Escabitchewan House at the mouth of the Wabigoon. That was where the photographer and the editor camped last summer—all unaware of the local ghosts.

Contributors

PATRICK D. BAIRD is director of the Montreal office of the Arctic Institute of North America. He was in command of the moving force on Exerise Musk-ox. . . . REV. J. E. BEAUDET, O.M.I., is a missionary in the Abitibi district. He became familiar with dog-team travel when he was stationed on James Bay in 1930-42. . . . RICHARD GLOVER, Ph.D., is on the staff of the history department at the University of Manitoba. . . . HAROLD C. KNOX is vice-principal of Daniel McIntyre Collegiate, Winnipeg, where he used to teach history. . . . HERMAN LEADER, Ph.D., is professor of history in Sacramento Junior College. His doctoral thesis was entitled *The Hudson's Bay Company in California*. . . . WILLIAM B. READY, M.A., is on the staff of the department of history at the University of Minnesota, and a contributor to the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Saturday Evening Post*. . . . REV. CANON J. H. WEBSTER is in charge of the Anglican mission at Coppermine.

BOOK REVIEWS

MEN OUT OF ASIA, by Harold Sterling Gladwin, illustrated by Campbell Grant. Whittlesey House, New York, 1947.

THIS is a book which you simply must read if you take any interest at all in the American Indians, their origin, and their culture. While reading it, however, keep firmly fixed in your mind the fact that, while Gladwin's hypotheses are most plausible and interesting, any one of them is as likely to be fallacious as not.

The main thesis of the book is that the Americas were populated by a series of migrations from Asia. This no anthropologist will dispute; but when the author fixes the dates at which these migrations took place, specifies the physical type, the linguistic group, and the culture, he is venturing onto debatable ground.

His first migration he puts at 25,000 to 15,000 years ago, and believes that the people involved were Australoids. This because human skeletal material has been found in Central America with australoid characteristics. His second migration, 15,000 to 2,500 years back, is correlated with the Folsom culture and the people are labelled Negroid because other bones were found with negroid traits. The weakness here is that the presence of australoid or negroid traits does not argue the presence of an Australian or a Negro.

The third migration (Algonquin) is dated at 2,500 B.C.; the fourth (Eskimo) 500 B.C.; the fifth (Mongoloid) 300 B.C. Evidently the people were beginning to crowd a bit at the gates. Your conventional anthropologist starts to writhe, however, when the next migration comes into view, not over Bering Straits this time, but across the Pacific Ocean.

It is a most ingenious hypothesis, so utterly plausible, so inevitably wrong, so fitting a prelude to all the glories of Hollywood, that one can only regret its inevitable fate in the limbo of lost causes.

The great fleet of Alexander the Great lay at anchor, fully victualled, fully armed, fully manned. And then its leader died. Alexander had, at last, found new worlds to conquer. His fleet still lay at anchor, its energy latent within it, ready to go, and go it must. Along the shores of India, down the west side of Burma, round the southern tip of the Celebes, and out onto the broad Pacific. On the way they picked up all the imaginable rag tag and bobtail of miscellaneous people from the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East; some skilled in metals, some in weaving, pottery, mathematics, architecture.

The broad Pacific behind them, they were brought to a halt appropriately close to Hollywood. Some turned north, others south, others went overland to the West Indies. Some taught weaving, some taught building; no matter what one of the arts and crafts was needed, there'd be somebody on one of the ships who knew all about it. Can't you see the Bulletin

Board? "WANTED: Competent mason who understands the construction of the Roman arch."

Isn't it strange that none of the Indo-European names for these freshly introduced materials, skills, and objects has survived in the local dialects? However, Gladwin may be right—here and there. Out of so many good shots, they can't all be misses.

Don't miss the drawings on any account!

—Douglas Leechman.



THE LUNGFISH, THE DODO AND THE UNICORN, an Excursion into Romantic Zoology, by Willy Ley. Macmillans, 1948. 371 pages.

NATURAL history and the mystery story rank high among forms of literature popular today, and anyone who enjoys them will, like the reviewer, enjoy this book, which offers a remarkable blend of both. The sub-title hardly does justice to the book's contents. Mr. Ley has hunted many a romantic beast to its lair in the inventive mind of mediaeval or ancient author, but he has written much more than a mere "History of Un-Natural History." He has real zoological knowledge and deals with real, as well as fabulous, animals. He gives admirable summaries of what is known about those strange flightless birds, the Dodo and the Great Auk. He is perhaps most interesting of all in his gathering together of the frayed threads of information about animals which almost certainly exist, but remain unknown to science. The fierce "chimiset" or Nandi bear and the mysterious "Spotted Lion" of the mountain tops of the Aberdares are beasts too firmly believed in by East African natives and some British game wardens to be explained away as fable. In dealing with these and others like them Mr. Ley is fascinating.

It is not, however, necessary to agree with everything he says. This reviewer was certainly not convinced by his identification of the *Sirrush*, a magnificent dragon of Babylonian art, with a legendary modern African reptile. A characteristic of Babylonian sculpture is literal naturalism, and the *Sirrush* is for the most part conspicuously made of bits and pieces of perfectly well known animals. Mr. Ley's drawing of what he supposes the *Sirrush* was really like differs so much from the original as to seem almost wantonly misleading. Indeed the illustrations seem the book's weakest point. To those who have seen the animals, the pictures described as the Mongolian wild horse and the European bison will perhaps be most disappointing. Nor, I think, will anyone familiar with the studbook of the International Society for the Preservation of the European Bison agree with Mr. Ley's opinion that the present small stocks of pure bred European bison are feeble or degenerate animals. They probably average healthier than the much larger present stocks of American bison, some of whose herds are riddled with Bang's disease.

But these are criticisms of detail. It is a dull book that does not leave one wishing to argue with the author, and Mr. Ley is far from dull. He is himself most enviably widely read, and if his book is read widely it will be no more than he deserves.—R. Glover.

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